

Gustavus Adolphus.

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GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS;

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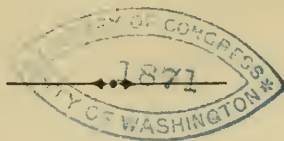
HERO OF THE REFORMATION.

From the French of

L. ABELOUS.

BY MRS. C. A. LACROIX.

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GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

CHAPTER I.

CHILDHOOD OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

His origin—His education—His disposition.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS is one of the grandest characters of modern history, and one of the purest of the Reformation. He was, at the same time, an excellent king, a famous general, and a model Christian. His early death, and the importance of the events in which he was the main actor, add increased luster to his genius and virtues. He displayed a rare example of faithful and consistent piety, in a position in which the soul

stands in even more dangers than the body. He proved that genuine Christianity may join faith to courage; and, with Coligny, Duquesne, Havelock, and others, he showed what power a religion may have which is drawn directly from the divine sources of the Bible.

Gustavus Adolphus was born at Stockholm, Dec. 9, 1594, and his cradle, so to speak, was rocked in the midst of national commotions. By his father, Charles, Duke of Sundermania, he belonged to the royal family of Sweden; and by his mother, Christina, daughter of the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, he was allied to the Danish dynasty. The prestige, however, of such an origin did not secure to him rest and security. His childhood, like his manhood, was full of agitation.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century Sweden was an elective kingdom.

Christian II. governed it, and, as the inheritor also of the thrones of Denmark and Norway, he wore a triple crown. Sweden submitted to, rather than chose, this violent and crafty monarch, who, in order to establish his power, continually multiplied confiscations and punishments. The son of a Swedish senator, a victim of this sanguinary ruler, (Gustavus Johansson, of the house of Vasa, one of the first of the Swedish nobility,) escaped from a prison in Jutland, in which he was detained by a Danish lord, under the order of Christian. This young man conceived the bold plan of delivering his country from the yoke of tyranny under which it was groaning. After having evaded all search of his oppressors, and resigned himself to the humble occupation of a thresher, he succeeded in exciting to revolt the peasantry of Dalmatia, whither he had fled, and, with the

aid of these rude and brave mountaineers, he drove the Danes from Sweden and restored its freedom. Chosen king by his grateful country, Gustavus Vasa, who had formerly been under the instruction of one of Luther's pupils, instituted reforms in all his States. "To serve God by being obedient to his law, and by loving him above all else; to believe in Jesus Christ as our only Saviour; to study and teach the word of God with zeal; to love our neighbor as ourself, and to observe the Ten Commandments—such is the true worship that we should render unto God; these are our good works, and God has commanded no others. The Holy Scriptures do not require wax tapers, nor palms, nor mass, for the redemption of souls, nor does it demand the worship of saints. God has even forbidden such things. He has given us the sacrament as a symbol of the

remission of sins, but not that it should be framed in gold and silver and paraded around grave-yards or elsewhere." Such was the profession of faith made by Gustavus Vasa and adopted by all his subjects.

Gustavus Vasa abdicated in favor of his son, in order to consecrate himself more fully to the interests of his soul and to prepare for death, whose near approach was foretold by his failing health. Shortly after, he died, regretted by a grateful people, and leaving his country happy and prosperous.

His son, Eric, inherited his power but not his virtues. Subject to frequent excesses of folly and frenzy, he was, by turns, whimsical and cruel; demanding in marriage, successively, Elizabeth Queen of England, Mary Stuart, the Princess Renée de Lorraine, Christina of Hesse, and finally finishing by marrying the daughter

of a peasant; at one time poignarding, with the *sang-froid* of a barbarian, for merely imaginary reasons, one of Sweden's noblest sons, Nickolas Sture; then, after a few days, shedding bitter tears of remorse, and refusing all nourishment. These mental excesses, joined to other ruinous extravagances, soon caused his fall. He was declared incapable of reigning, and condemned to a captivity which shortened his life. His children were not permitted to succeed him, and John, his brother, ascended the throne. But, influenced by his wife, Catharine, daughter of Sigismond, King of Poland, he brought the Jesuits into his kingdom, and labored for the restoration of the Romish Church there. The people, outraged by this betrayal, withdrew from him their sympathy and confidence. Duke Charles, his brother, who showed himself in all things worthy of

Gustavus Vasa, soon won all hearts to him.

At John's death, the States, jealous of the rights and faith of the kingdom, exacted of his son Sigismond, brought up in Poland in the Catholic faith of his mother, a decree interdicting every other religion but the Lutheran. Under the pressure of these energetic measures the new King pledged himself. But when in power, he soon violated his promise, and gave orders to build a Catholic church in every city of the kingdom. To render his perjury still more flagrant, he refused to be crowned by a Protestant prelate, and gave this honor to the Nuncio of the Pope. The whole of Sweden protested against such audacity joined with so much perfidy. Surrounded by Poles and Jesuits, Sigismond shocked, at once, both the national and religious sentiments of his people. In

Stockholm there were frequent bloody riots between citizens and foreigners.

In the midst of these troubles Sigismond was called to Poland, of which he was also king. He left Sweden in obedience to this call and never returned. Charles, yielding to the wishes of the States, and silencing his scruples, in view of the interests of his fellow-citizens and of the threatened Protestant worship, accepted the regency of the kingdom amid the applause of the people, whose friend and hope he had long been. The Augsburg Confession was again proclaimed, and every Swede present joined in the determination: "We will sacrifice our wealth or our lives, and all that we have in this world, rather than abandon the pure Gospel."

It was in the midst of these scenes that Gustavus Adolphus came upon the world's

stage. His baptism, which took place January 1, 1595, was the occasion of great popular rejoicing. The people loved to relate that, ten years before that date, the celebrated astronomer, Tycho Brahe, had announced the birth of a prince who should render famous the northern States of Europe, and should save the Evangelical Church. Without lending faith to such legends as these, we may easily see in them the superstitious but sincere enthusiasm which welcomed the heir of the Duke of Sundermania, and presaged his future elevation.

The child, according to a scriptural expression, grew, and waxed strong in spirit. His brilliant natural endowments developed rapidly under the excellent influences of his parents. A relish for arms could not fail to manifest itself in him, for he had heard of only wars and battles from

early childhood. His father was ever taking his departure to go to the combat, and ever returning to relate victories, which inflamed his young imagination and nourished his martial inclinations.

The National Assembly of Sweden of 1595 had excluded from the throne all Catholic candidates. Sigismond refused to subscribe to this condition, and pretended to hold the rights which his father had delegated to him. His Catholic faith left to him the succession, on his mother's side, in Poland, and he flattered himself also that he should enjoy the benefits of the Swedish crown. He invaded the kingdom, and attempted to obtain it by force; but, after a decisive defeat, he found himself forced to withdraw, after having signed a capitulation which was equivalent to an abdication. His uncle became king under the name of Charles IX., and his descend-

ants were declared the only legitimate heirs to the throne of Sweden.

Charles had already once refused the place of his nephew, and in obeying new solicitations and yielding to the force of circumstances, he thought only to obey the voice of his conscience. He signified, to the deputies of the nation, that if a son of Sigismond should embrace the principles of the Reformation, he should inherit the crown, nor did he forget this generous reservation in his will. When we compare the delicacy of this conduct with that of Sigismond, trampling under foot all his promises, it is impossible not to recognize in the King of Poland a pupil of the Jesuits, and in Charles a disciple of a religion that appeals above all things to the conscience.

After the war with the Polish invaders, Charles had to defend his power on the

continent; Finland, stirred up by the intrigues of Sigismond, submitted only after a bloody struggle.

Gustavus Adolphus accompanied his father on this last expedition, although he was yet scarcely seven years of age. The vessel on which they were returning was frozen fast in the ice, and the child was obliged to continue the journey on foot with his father in the midst of the rigors of a Russian winter. The robustness of his constitution, however, withstood these hardships, and his health suffered no injury.

There is an anecdote related of him which shows that, even in childhood, his soul was as intrepid as his body was hardy. He was rambling in the fields near Stockholm, when the notion suddenly struck him to run to a thicket of woods which was quite distant from those who

had him in care. They tried to detain him by appealing to his sense of fear, and told him that, in the woods, there were a great many large and fearful serpents. "That's nothing," he replied; "only give me a stick that I may kill them."

He was fond of watching all military operations, and thus revealed, from earliest childhood, his love for the vocation of war. While reviewing a Swedish fleet with his father at Calmar, an officer asked the young Gustavus which of all the ships he liked the best. "The Black Chevalier," said he. "Why do you give it the preference?" said the officer. "Because it carries the greatest number of cannon," was the reply, without a moment's hesitation.

Still another anecdote is related, which proves a natural generosity of heart, not less remarkable than his hardihood and courage. One day, a farmer brought a

valuable little pony to the young prince and begged him to accept it as a gift from him. "I will take the pony," said Gustavus, "but you must let me pay you for it; it is worth a good sum, and I know your resources can ill afford so expensive a gift."

While speaking, he drew out his purse, full of ducats, and emptied the contents into the hands of the peasant, who stood as if stupefied at such an evidence of benevolence and largeness of soul in a mere child.

But Gustavus's precocity of intellect was, above all, surprising. Before he had attained the age of sixteen he had learned six languages. He was equally master of Swedish, Latin, German, Dutch, French, and Italian. He also spoke a little Polish and Russian. But his father did not limit himself to the cultivation of his intellect

alone; he also gave much attention to the education of his heart. He inspired in him habits of industry, and encouraged him to practice all the virtues which work together to make a man of a noble and Christian character. He gave him a complete religious instruction, and endeavored to render him firm in his faith. He sought less to make him comprehend the principles of the Reformation, than he did to make him love them. He desired, above all things, that religion should be, to his son, an affair of the heart rather than of the head. In a word, Charles IX. spared no pains in making his son worthy and capable of reigning over his beloved Sweden.

The letter which this wise and good monarch gave his son, with his last adieu and with his last counsels, is still extant. "Above all," said he to him, "fear God. . . .

Honor thy father and thy mother. Love deeply and sincerely your brothers and sisters. Esteem the faithful servants of your father, and reward each one according to his merits. Be humane toward your subjects. Punish the wicked, love the good. Trust every one, but not without caution. Observe the law without respect of person. Deprive no one of privileges if they are well-founded and not contrary to the general good."

We find, in these simple and austere maxims, the foundation of that kind of education which fashions the noblest and most resolute characters; those men of granite steadfastness who have ever been admired, but whose sublime type is being daily more and more effaced by the growing effeminacy of our age.

The mother of Gustavus Adolphus contributed also to the best development of

the numerous gifts with which Providence had endowed her son. She seconded heartily all her husband's wise efforts to this end, and tried to suppress all excessive indulgences to which the tenderness of her mother-love often prompted her. Somewhat stern, and perhaps a little haughty, she suffered no violation of rules in her household, and prescribed daily tasks, even to her lady attendants. Her virtuous walk was an example to all, and, thanks to her, the court was without dangers and snares for her sons. She had a decided preference for her second son, Charles Philip; so much so that her partiality might have estranged a little her eldest son and made divisions in the family; but Gustavus was too good a son to make complaints of a good mother and too loving a brother to be jealous of his brothers.

Charles thought nothing more desirable, to complete the education of his son, than to early accustom him to the management of business affairs and to give him a practice in real life, a thing which books never yet have been able to teach. From the age of ten, he took him with him to be present at the conclaves of the counselors of the throne, and into all public assemblies. He even allowed him to hold converse in his presence with foreign officials, who were present from time to time in these assemblies. It gratified him to hear the young prince talking of battles, sieges, and military organization like an old general, and asking questions with the ardor of a child whose curiosity is never satisfied nor wearied.

At the age of fourteen, the king sent Gustavus with his mother into the northern part of Sweden, in order that he might

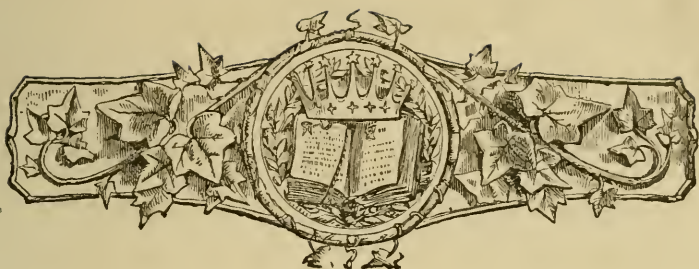
learn to know and be known by his future subjects. He advised him to listen to all who might solicit his support, to aid all according to his means, and, above all, to send none away without consolation for their trials and grievances. The journey was a complete success. At fifteen he desired to lead an army against the Russians, but it was not thought advisable on account of his youth, and so the campaign was made without him.

In 1611, however, when Denmark declared herself against Sweden, Charles gave to Gustavus the command of a body of troops. He set out immediately for the deliverance of Calmar, which was then besieged by the Danes. From the commencement to the end of this war, he displayed the most eminent qualities of generalship, and admirably directed all movements. He so inspired the people

with confidence, that the king left him at the head of the whole army, while he was absent attending a diet elsewhere.

But Charles was only fairly on his journey when he fell seriously ill, and he felt assured that he had come to the close of his career. Many gathered about him and were lamenting sorely over the loss that Sweden must sustain in giving up her king, and especially that so much that was already begun must be left unfinished. The old king impressively laid his hand upon the head of his son, who had hastened thither to receive his last words, and said, "*Ille faciet*"—He will do it. He died, October 10, 1611, at the age of sixty-one.





CHAPTER II.

REIGN OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

His valor—His domestic virtues—His piety.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS was only seventeen years old when he succeeded his father, Charles IX., to the throne. The time of his majority was shortened seven years. His wonderful precocity and maturity rendered him worthy to be this exception of history. His ability had been proved in the war which Sweden was sustaining against Denmark. He carried on the struggle with success, and the king of Denmark renounced all claims to the Swedish throne.

Scarcely was this question settled when

he was called into Russia to sustain the party which had offered the crown to his brother. Charles Philip's competitor was Uladislas, son of Sigismond, king of Poland, so lately dethroned in Sweden. In order to terminate these dissensions the Russians renounced both princes, and chose a ruler from among themselves. Gustavus consented to make peace, and by thus yielding the claim, obtained an addition of territory which the newly chosen sovereign ceded to him. "This short war," says an historian, "was an excellent school for the young king. He fought under the brave Count Jacques de la Gardie, whose valor so struck the Russians with admiration that they gave his name a place in their calendar."

After having perfected his naturally rare military talents by experience, Gustavus Adolphus, seconded by his brave and re-

nowned generals, soon outwitted the eternal enemy of his race, Sigismond, who had used all his power to overthrow him, and had even seized one of his continental provinces. Gustavus soon forced him to withdraw from it, and he also took several Prussian cities which had favored the attempts of Sigismond.

His power, threatened on all sides, was thus assured by a succession of victories; and the liberal spirit of the Swedes, whose devotion to their king shrank before no sacrifice, joined to a wise administration, soon replenished the public treasury, which had been drained by so many wars.

It has been well remarked, that no king ever took into his hands the reins of government under more unfavorable circumstances; and we may add, that never were difficulties more swiftly surmounted. It was necessary for him, so to speak, to

conquer his inheritance, and to purchase his right to the throne with his blood. He never drew the sword in a spirit of conquest, nor for the mere love of war; the interest of his country was his only motive of action; he made war only that he might bring peace. He sternly discountenanced every act of vengeance; he gave the example of courage in battle, and of generosity and magnanimity after triumph and victory. He was full of solicitude for his soldiers, but he tolerated on their part no license, and insisted on a strict cultivation of etiquette and religion in camp. Regular worship was held there—morning and evening, the entire army bent the knee before God and reverently implored his aid and his favor. The king himself was every-where; giving encouragement and counsel here, lifting with a helping hand there, marching ahead in

the midst of bloody contest, and handling the pickax in the trenches. While maintaining discipline among his soldiers he suppressed the bastinado as a punishment, and thus showed himself even more jealous of the dignity of humanity than do several civilized nations of to-day. He was also as prudent as brave, always surrounding himself with the wisest counselors, and consulting each of his States before entering upon any public enterprise.

His energy and power of endurance were almost incredible. When sick or wounded he was never heard to complain, nor was he ever seen taking care of himself. During the Russian campaign he was attacked by an intermittent fever, but, far from keeping his bed, he amused himself by fencing with one of his officers, and gave himself up to the sport with such ardor that he broke out in a

profuse perspiration, and thus conquered the fever.

Several times during his career he was saved from death, almost as by miracle. During the Livonian campaign with the Poles, a shot swept the place he had occupied the moment after he had left it. On another occasion several fell around him under a shower of balls, so close that the blood of their wounds spurted upon his clothes, and a few moments later a shot pierced his tent and passed just above his head. At Dantzic he gave orders to seven small boats to seize a redoubt, and, in order to be more sure of the result, he directed one of the embarkations himself. While thus employed he received a shot in his stomach. The wound was quite severe, but he wrote home the same day: "It was a warm engagement, and I was also wounded; but I thank God that my

life and health are not in danger, and trust, that, after a few days, I shall be able to resume the command."

Three months later, in Prussia, he was again severely wounded in a battle with the Duke of Brandenburg, an ally of his rival, the King of Poland.

The day after the accident he again wrote a letter to his people, in which we are at a loss to know which most to admire, his courage or his resignation.

"We presented ourselves before the enemy," said he, "mounted and on foot, and we played so well our artillery that we thought we had put them to flight. But God permitted it otherwise. Just arrived at the spot where we expected and hoped to rout them entirely, a ball struck me on the shoulder, near the neck. It was this alone that prevented us from finishing the battle. Nevertheless, I thank God that in

the midst of my misfortune he permits me to hope for the speedy recovery of my health and strength.

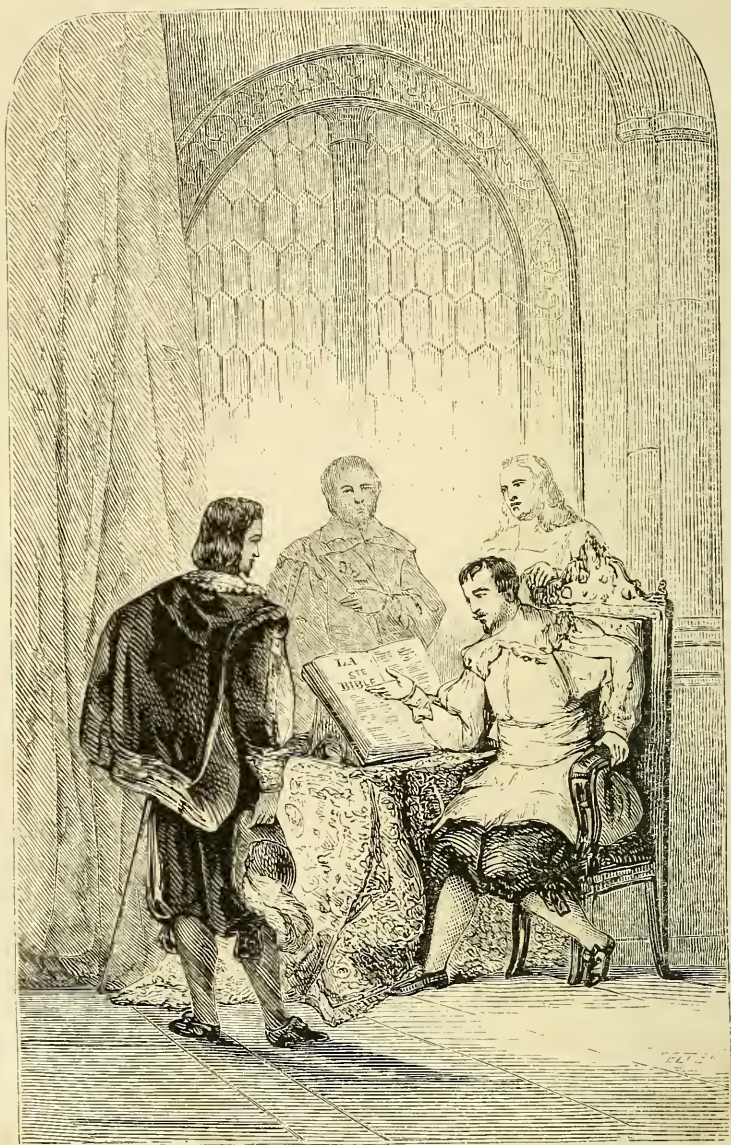
Near the end of the same war against Poland and Prussia, Gustavus ran still another risk of losing his life. An Austrian army, composed of eight thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, came up to the aid of Poland. Gustavus Adolphus demanded of Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland, who had sent the army, what motive he had in mingling himself in his affairs. Wallenstein replied arrogantly, "My master, the Emperor, has too many troops, and is obliged to send a few of them to his friends."

In order to combat this new adversary the Swedish king had need of re-enforcements, and, while waiting, he desired to take refuge behind the ramparts of Marienburg, one of the cities he had taken from

Prussia. But one of his generals allowed himself to be drawn into an engagement with the Imperialists and exposed his whole corps to complete destruction. Already the Swedish battalions began to fall back before the forces of Wallenstein, when Gustavus Adolphus, warned of the threatened defeat, rushed with all haste to the rescue. Drawn into the general tumult, and, so to speak, lost in it, he was on the point of being taken by one of the enemy's cavalry, whose saber brushed his head and occasioned the loss of his hat. Scarcely escaped from this danger, he nearly fell into the hands of another of the cavalry, who even seized him by the arm. All would soon have been over with Gustavus Adolphus had he not been seen by a Swedish dragoon, who flew to his defense, and delivered him from death by giving death to the Austrian.

Providence evidently protected the life of the King of Sweden, and reserved him for yet greater purposes. And the king always recognized, and was always grateful for this Divine protection. He confided in it without reserve. In the midst of bloody battles, as at home, he felt himself as under the eye of God, and ever renewedly placed himself in his hands. "God," said he often, "has given me the crown, not that I should fear or remain in repose, but that I may consecrate my life to his glory and to the good of my subjects." In fact, the glory of God seemed to be the continual aim of all the king's movements. His faith shone out in all his words. The cause of the Gospel was his own cause, and its triumph was his most ardent wish.

Master of Prussia as far as Dantzic, his first care was to write to the authorities of



Gustavus found Studying the Bible,

all the conquered cities, to deliver up to the Protestants all their places of worship of which they had been deprived. He recommended to the Pastors to preach faithfully the Word of God, to administer the Lord's Supper with care, and to awaken every-where, as much as possible, true Christian life.

He could not tolerate profanity, nor light and disrespectful jesting of any kind concerning religion. He was often found alone, reading his Bible. At one time he said: "I seek to fortify myself against perverse flatterers by meditating on the Sacred Word. A person in my position owes only to God an account of his actions, and it is precisely this independence of position which occasions a multitude of temptations, against which we are never sufficiently on our guard."

His private and family life was as beau-

tiful as was his public career. Mild and loving toward all his relatives, he was, to his mother especially, the kindest and most respectful of sons; nor did power change at all his sentiments in this regard. Long after coming to the throne he begged his mother to still remain with him, and to love him as she ever had done.

Riga had held out in a siege to the last extremity, and had caused great losses in the Swedish army. The city being finally taken, the inhabitants could only expect severe terms and heavy chastisement; but Gustavus Adolphus, here as elsewhere, displayed a wonderful Christian magnanimity. He treated the conquered with a mildness that equally astonished both friends and enemies.

After the siege of Riga, Gustavus's brother, Charles Philip, fell very sick. He was so tenderly cared for, and so surrounded

by his brother's watchful kindness, that the young Duke wrote to his sister Catharine: "The converse of the king is so interesting, and his society so agreeable, that the time passes without my being able to think of my sufferings." The death of this prince was a great grief to the heart of the king. In a letter written on this occasion the following touching and appreciative passage is found:

"His heart was never cast down by misfortunes and reverses. In spite of his youth, he loved his country too well to remain at rest in his house when Poland attacked Sweden. He constantly sought to excite to courage the young nobility. O, my country! what hast thou not lost in him!"

Charles Philip had just attained his twenty-first year, and awakened many brilliant hopes. The royal family of Sweden,

which, a few years before, numbered three members, was now reduced to a single one.

Gustavus Adolphus married the beautiful Marie Eleonore, of the house of Brandenburg. Never was there a royal union of purer love, nor one that took place under more favorable auspices. It had been long and lovingly anticipated by both princess and king. The gift of the heart had really preceded that of the hand.

His religion was important above all other matters, and he did not neglect it even during his very brief sojourn at Berlin, whither he went to demand the consent of the mother of the princess. He went into the sanctuary to implore God's blessing on his choice, and paid so close attention to the sermon that he noted down all the principal points.

His marriage was celebrated with much pomp, Nov. 28, 1620, in his palace at Stockholm.

Their domestic happiness was untroubled until the sorrow of a dead-born child fell over them, and changed a day that would have been one of rejoicing into one of mourning. This was a great grief to the king, but he recognized it as the will of his heavenly Father, and as a chastisement for him. He wrote to his brother-in-law, the Duke of Brandenburg:

“I must tell you the sorrow that has come to my house. God has punished me in giving me a dead child.”

But he did not in anywise rebel against Providence when another similar sorrow fell to his lot, and made him fear that he should have no inheritor to the throne. Finally, he had a daughter, and, although having greatly desired a son, he took the

child in his arms, caressed it, and reverently said :

“God be praised ! I trust this daughter may be worth as much to me as a son. May God, who has given her to me, preserve her for me !” Then he added, smiling, “She will be artful, for she has deceived us all,” alluding to the expectation of all that it would be a prince.

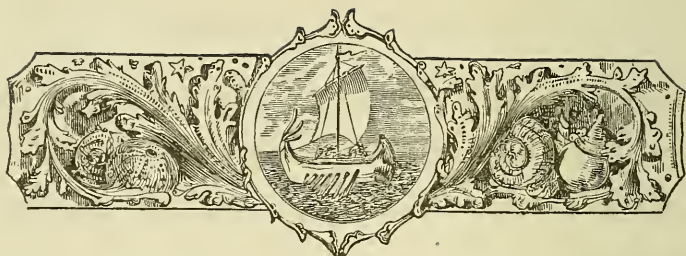
He did not then think that he foretold what was to be but too true in after years. He little mistrusted that the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus would ever dishonor his name by debauchery and apostasy.*

What a sad prophecy in the playful

* Christina, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, idolized by the Swedes on account of her father, betrayed their affection by surrounding herself with corrupt men, and by wasting the public finances in order to gratify her guilty caprices. Weary of these material embarrassments, she afterward abdicated, went to Belgium, thence to France, where she was instrumental in the murder of Monaldeschi. She died in Rome.

words of the king, and how plainly it shows that religious faith is not hereditary, but a personal matter! God spared the Christian hero from living to see this double shame.





CHAPTER III.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

Its Beginnings—Intervention of Gustavus Adolphus—His Departure.

THE eventful moment had come when Gustavus Adolphus was to enter upon the work to which Providence had destined him. For a long time he had longed to devote his life and, if necessary, to shed his blood for the Protestant Church, attacked while he was in his cradle. The perils and hardships of the German Protestants stirred his most lively sympathy. Their every groan awakened an echo in his heart. At the beginning of the Thirty Years' War he was occupied with three wars, the finishing of which his father had

bequeathed to him, so that, until his hands were free from these, he could only remain a distant and sympathetic witness of the trials of his suffering brethren, and leave his projects for assisting them to a future need.

The peace of Augsburg, forced from Charles Fifth by the victorious Lutherans, in granting liberty of conscience seemed to have ended the struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism. But this peace was only of short duration. The Jesuits, spread every-where through the country, ever faithful to the Roman Church, which has never tolerated any other religious faith than its own, and has ever held, as rebels and enemies of the divine truth, all those who refused to accept without reserve its doctrines and its practices, pushed to an open rupture, and loudly demanded a more speedy conversion of the heretics,

by means of arms taken up under sanction of the emperor. But there must be some pretext for renewing hostilities; Bohemia was not long in giving one. The country of John Huss, the forerunner of the Reformation, whose funeral pile lighted up the deliberations of the Council of Constance, commenced by separating itself from Rome in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and ended by embracing Protestantism. The Emperor Rudolph II. was obliged to authorize there the free exercise of Protestant worship. He recognized also their right to build new churches, to establish schools according to need, and to convoke their ecclesiastical council. All these concessions, demanded by a people ready to take them with weapons in their hands should they be refused, were granted, July 2, 1609, in a famous letter called the Letter of Majesty. Mathias, brother and suc-

cessor of Rudolph, not only confirmed, but increased the religious liberties of Bohemia, and gave to her for king, his nephew, Ferdinand de Gratz, the inheritor of the imperial crown and Archduke of Styria.

This king promised, at first, to maintain the privileges stipulated for in the Letter of Majesty. But he did not long remain faithful to his promise. Devoted to the interests of Catholicism, and a docile subject of the Romish court, he was sure the Pope would sanction his perjury, and thought, with other Catholic princes, whose example had encouraged him, that there was no virtue in keeping either faith or word of honor with a heretic. "It were preferable," said he, "to rule over a desert than over a country of heretics." With such a man, intolerance and religious persecution were inevitable. The Protestant nobility were excluded from all honors

and deprived even of their employments. The officers of the crown were chosen from among the open enemies of the faith of the majority of the people, and they subjected them to all manner of vexations. Soon, Ferdinand, sporting with every right, with all treaties and promises, opposed all claims of his subjects sent to his uncle, the emperor, and managed to bring about the interdiction of their religious assemblies.

The harsh reply, sent in answer to a statement of their grievances, excited the indignation of the Bohemians to its highest. Not satisfied with imposing on them himself, Mathias approved all the violent measures of which they were the victims, and was the first to proclaim openly the abolition of their privileges, and to tyrannize over their consciences. The Council of Regency, composed of rigid Catholics, was regarded by the people as the real

author of the imperial response, and, in all cases, as the instigator of the unjust orders issued at Vienna. They immediately hastened to the council chamber at Prague where the councilors were in session. The deputies of the Protestant provinces, who marched at the head of the excited crowd, summoned the president and his colleagues to an explanation, and to inform them whether the imperial response had not been first prepared there, and then sent to Matthias for his signature. Two of these high officers of the empire replied with calmness and dignity, and the crowd went no further than to chase them from the palace. The other two received the representatives of the nation with insults and threats; this changed the indignation of the people into rage, and they hurled the two councilors out of the window into the ditch surrounding the royal edifice. They then seized

the secretary, who was an accomplice, and subjected him to the same fate. "The whole civilized world," says Schiller, "was astonished at this savage procedure. The Bohemians excused themselves by saying that it was an ancient custom of the country, and declared that they saw nothing remarkable in this event, save that the judges, after such a leap, should have risen up safe and sound. They really owed this good fortune to the mass of filth upon which they fell, which, in softening the shock of their fall, saved their lives."

This affair, known in history under the name of Defenestration of Prague, inaugurated the Thirty Years' War, May 25, 1618.

After such a step of violence, there remained no other course for the Bohemians to pursue than to fly to arms to protect their persons and their religion. There

were no possible negotiations to be made, and force of arms alone could give them again their rights.

With an energy and promptitude worthy of the gravity of the circumstances and the importance of their cause, they constituted a national government, and gave their king, Ferdinand, to understand that they felt themselves freed from every engagement with a prince who, since he came into power, had not ceased to conspire against the faith and laws of his subjects.

The Jesuits, who had caused all these evils, and destroyed, by their intrigues, the tranquillity of Bohemia, were banished. The thirty directors, chosen among the deputies, to administer public affairs, invited all the Protestants of the kingdom to second the national movement, and raised an army, the command of which was given to Count Thurm, the author of the

revolt which had constrained Rudolph to sign the Letter of Majesty, and the main defender of civil and religious liberty in Bohemia.

At the same time they sent a call to Hungary, to Moravia, to Silesia, and also to their brethren of the Evangelical Union, a powerful league formed, by the Protestant princes of Germany, against their common enemies, the emperor and the Pope. Mathias, with the funds and the soldiery of the Church, formed an army and sent it against the rebels. Two defeats, however, soon taught the imperials how difficult it is to conquer a people who fight for their religion and independence. About this time, and in order to follow up these first successes, the Evangelical Union sent to the aid of its brethren a re-inforcement of four thousand men, under the leadership of Count Mansfeld. This able

general signalized his arrival in Bohemia by the taking of Pilsen, the strongest of the three cities of the kingdom in which the Catholics had the ascendancy, and the one most devoted to the emperor. This new loss seemed to have assured the Bohemians of triumph. Mathias was preparing peace measures at the moment when death snatched him from the scene, and left the imperial crown to Ferdinand of Styria, the irreconcilable enemy of the Reformation. All hope of settling affairs was then lost. Count Thurm took up his march again after his short respite, and proceeding from victory to victory, he soon arrived even at Vienna. Ever increased upon its passage, by recruits from all the Protestant provinces, which Ferdinand had enraged against him by his violent and unjust fanaticism, the Bohemian army was ready to dictate to the emperor

himself, in his palace even, and to dispose of the empire according to its own mind.

The Austrian garrison was exhausted. Several of their barons rushed into the king's chamber to urge and, if possible, compel him to deliver his capital up to the Bohemians; but he stubbornly refused, and while they were discussing, the Flemish army, sent to his support, appeared in the city, and this put to flight the insurgents of the city, and they fled for safety to the Bohemians, who soon broke up camp and returned to Prague.

In order to more fully deliver themselves from the domination of Ferdinand, the Bohemians elected for king the Elector Palatine, Frederick V., who was at the head of the Evangelical Union. This choice was hailed with cries of joy, and the crowning took place August 26, 1619, but it

was a reign of short duration. Through a few missteps, Frederick gave offense to the Hussites and Lutherans, and he soon found himself abandoned by all the Protestant princes, of whose support he was in so much need. He found himself alone with his subjects, against the united troops of Austria and of the Catholic league.

The Bohemians, overwhelmed and discouraged by the number of the enemy, were defeated in a battle near Prague, Nov. 8, 1621. The next day the city was taken, and the unfortunate Frederick, with the chief leaders, fled. All the other cities soon surrendered, and the chiefs of the states gave oath of fidelity to the emperor.

Master of the situation, Ferdinand feigned for three months to have forgotten his rancors against the Bohemians, but as soon as the chiefs of the revolt, deceived by an apparent amnesty, returned to Prague, he

cast aside his mask. In one day, forty-eight of the principal ones in the rebellion were arrested and taken before a court-martial. Twenty-seven of them fell under the executioner's ax, and a great many of the citizens were condemned to the same fate. Confiscation of property and exile were also the portion of many. All Protestant churches were closed, and at a solemn sitting of the Council, Ferdinand II. tore the Letter of Majesty and burned the pieces. Then, in order more completely to crown his vengeance, he put the Elector Frederick under the ban of the empire and deprived him of his hereditary estates, which latter he bestowed on Maximilian, as recompense for his services.

In vain did several Protestant princes who were indignant at this example, which was a threat to all their crowns, wish to oppose this despotism. The commander

of the Bavarian army, General Tilly, conquered them, and Ferdinand knew no other limit to his power than his own will. He ruled over Protestant Germany with a scepter of iron, and treated it as a conquered country. Tilly swept over the land, pillaging and ravaging every-where. This standing army to support, and the ever-increasing unjust deeds of the Court of Vienna, urged on the Protestants to take a last stand. They knew that these violent acts were but the prelude to their near extermination. Ferdinand had vowed that he would defend his religion, at the peril even of his life, every-where that his arms and power could go.

Under this state of things, weary of the yoke which weighed upon them, irritated by persecution, anxious for the future, the states of Lower Saxony finally joined in a treaty to defend themselves against unjust

aggressions, and to repel force by force. Too weak to do this alone, they sought, before engaging in the struggle, allies outside of Germany, and turned toward the powers of the North that professed the same faith. Gustavus Adolphus, still retained in Poland by the troops of Sigismond, whom ever-increasing reverses seemed only to make more obstinate, nevertheless would have accepted the command of the Protestant league, which none merited more than he. He offered also a large army accustomed to war. But the king of Denmark, Christian IV., brother-in-law of the Elector Palatine, was preferred to him.

Jealous of the glory of Gustavus Adolphus, and happy to have an opportunity of winning an equal renown, Christian opened the campaign in March, 1625, with sixty thousand men. His incapacity,

shown in several indecisive engagements, was fast compromising the cause which he wished to serve. He lost the battle of Hutter, and was driven back by Tilly, even to his own dominions. To complete his misfortunes, at the moment when he essayed to repair his defeat by re-enforcements from England and Scotland, Ferdinand opposed him with an adversary more formidable even than Tilly. Wallenstein appeared, to second the efforts of the Catholic League, and to take the first rank as commander.

Wallenstein was celebrated for his riches and for his military genius. In several campaigns he had given proofs of his power and of his devotion to the house of Austria. He had been rapidly promoted, had justified his promotion by driving the Hungarians out of Moravia, and had received for this brilliant success a part

of the spoils of his unfortunate fellow-countrymen. He proposed to the emperor to furnish an army which should be his own, and free from the League. Ferdinand agreed to his desires, and Wallenstein "soon had united under his banner, in the hope of rapid promotion and rich booty, a multitude of warlike men, gathered from all parts of Germany."

This army, fifty thousand strong, after having conquered and dispersed the troops of Mansfeld, the most valuable auxiliary of the King of Denmark, soon brought under subjection Silesia, Lower Saxony, and Holstein. Trembling for his own kingdom, which the emperor had openly promised to Wallenstein, Christian hastened to take advantage of the check of the Imperials before Stralsund, in order to retake Jutland, Schleswig, and Holstein, and to obtain peace. A treaty was con-

cluded at Lübeck, May 22, 1629. Austria restored to the King of Denmark his possessions, but forbade him all intervention in the affairs of Germany. Christian basely sacrificed for his own safety, not only his allies, but the principles in the name of which he had taken up arms. He allowed to be insulted, even in his presence, the Swedish ambassadors, who, before the treaty was finished, interceded in behalf of the Dukes of Mecklenburg, who had been set aside to make place for Wallenstein, already made Duke of Friedland.

Ferdinand wished to make of entire Germany another Bohemia, and even before being freed from the Danes he published, March 6, 1629, the Edict of Restitution, which enjoined on all Protestants the giving back of all bishoprics and benefices which the peace of Augsburg had put into their hands. This was to decree the ruin

of the Reformation by depriving it of all means of living. It was, as says Schiller, to deprive the Lutherans of a fortune which descended to them from their ancestors as much as it did to the Catholics from theirs. It was, in a word, to replace under the domination of the Romish clergy the countries which had overthrown it.

The Catholic sovereigns had the right, besides, to banish those of their Protestant subjects, who refused compliance with these demands.

Wallenstein was charged with executing this edict. "Impatient of all dependence, he levied enormous contributions, and encouraged horrible depredations of the soldiery every-where." The Jesuits triumphed, and provoked persecution by discourses in which was plainly depicted, in cynical language, the implacable hate which they had of Protestantism.

History has preserved the name of one of them, Lorenzo Forer, who said to the troops that came to Dillingen, with the commissaries appointed to take the Protestant possessions, in the name of the emperor: "Be active, my friends, and if any resist you, kill them and throw them into a fire hot enough to melt the stars, and oblige the angels to draw back their feet."

A prolonged cry of terror was heard from all parts of Germany. The Catholics even, having suffered by Wallenstein and his soldiers, also gave in complaints to the emperor. His own brother wrote to him: "Your Majesty can have no idea of the conduct of the troops. I, myself, have been a warrior, and I know well that an army seldom advances without leaving some traces of violence in its path. But when, for mere amusement, windows are broken, walls thrown down, noses and ears cut off;

when persons are tortured, violated, assassinated, these are certainly irregularities which superior officers should and can prevent. I know that many efforts are made to persuade your majesty that these reports are without foundation, but I hope you will place as much confidence in me, in regard to this, as in those others who fill their purses with the blood and sweat of the poor people. I could name to you many officers who, a short time ago, had not wherewith to clothe themselves, but who, to-day, have three or four thousand florins. Discontent is every-where increasing at an alarming rate, and my conscience permits me no longer to conceal from you the true state of affairs."

Thanks to the Duke Maximilian of Bavaria and several Catholic princes, this able but notorious general was deposed and his terrible troops disbanded. But

the violent measures against the Protestants were not suspended. This frightful oppression lasted a whole year.

“All the princes of Germany,” says Richelieu, in his *Memoirs*, “injured and ravaged, looked toward the King of Sweden in their misery, as navigators look toward the port of safety. The truce that Gustavus Adolphus concluded the same year which sent forth the Edict of Restitution, permitted him to answer their hopes, which, for so long a time, had been his own.

Sweden was the asylum of all the victims of Austrian fanaticism, and so she was not astonished to see her king prepare to combat the emperor. Gustavus called the senate together at Upsal, and depicted to them the ever-increasing oppressions which the Protestants of Germany were undergoing, also the imminent danger which

threatened Sweden if she awaited the oppressors at home, instead of forestalling them by making the first attack.

His friend and chancellor, Oxenstiern, did not approve of this war; not that it did not appear to him just, but because, with the careful prudence of a statesman, he did not like to engage his king and country in a ruinous or uncertain enterprise. Gustavus laid his hopes and his plans before him, and ended with these words: "That which can or cannot be done, God only knows. He alone can change desires into projects, carry into execution what is willed, and give a happy end to a good beginning."

The language in which he replied to the senators who wished to retain him, and who advised him to repose after so many combats, was, at once, so full of elevation and humility that no one could longer

doubt that he was moved by a divine impulsion. Said he, "There is no other repose to be expected than that of eternity."

From that time Gustavus Adolphus met with no more opposition to his designs. Richelieu, who then had great power in France, favored them, and sent an ambassador to invite him to enter on the campaign as soon as possible, assuring him that all Germany would receive him as a Messiah. To these flatterers the Swedish hero replied with noble frankness, that he had received from Germany messages very different from that; that the Elector of Saxony, although Protestant, was allied to the emperor, and that Bavaria and the whole Catholic League would take up arms against him, and that he counted more on the people than on the princes, and upon God and his sword more than on all besides.

Then, animated by a praiseworthy sentiment of independence, he refused the aid offered him. He wrote to his chancellor, "I have not found it advisable to unite with the King of France."

He did not like to unite the sacred cause of the Reformation to the cunning politics of Richelieu, who had no other aim than that of humbling Austria, whose immense power excited his fears and wounded his pride. Above all, he disliked to join with the cardinal who had taken Rochelle and conquered the French Protestants.

With his own resources Gustavus Adolphus did not fear to enter the struggle against a sovereign feared by all Europe, and who thought himself invincible. He demanded of him the re-establishment of Germany in all her ancient rights, and promised him peace on no other condition. The imperial emissary who received this

bold message said, "The King of Sweden would not speak otherwise if he were already in the heart of Germany with a victorious army."

In the meantime, Gustavus Adolphus made all preparations for the expedition. Hearing of this, Ferdinand said, with disdain, "We have now one more little enemy to fight." And Wallenstein boasted that he would chase this impudent aggressor with a few strokes of his whip. He even proposed to give to any one who would spare him this trouble, by assassinating the Swede, thirty thousand thalers.

Without halting for these disdainful boastings, the King of Sweden assembled thirty vessels of war and two hundred vessels of transport in the port of Elfsnaben, with fifteen thousand picked soldiers, commanded by intelligent and intrepid generals. He did not forget, however, to look

to the well-being and safety of his people during his absence. He confided the government into the hands of five senators, and sent Oxenstiern, as skillful as a general as he was able as an administrator, with ten thousand men to oversee all movements in Poland. A reserve corps was charged with the care of the kingdom, and with furnishing the necessary recruits.

Finally, in the early part of May, 1630, the fleet and the army were ready, and awaited their king. Gustavus, after having regulated his private affairs, as a good servant of God who sets his house in order before death, convoked the States to give them his last instructions, and to bid them a solemn farewell. He entered the hall of assembly accompanied by his little daughter, aged four years. He took her in his arms and commended her, in the most touching manner, to the Assembly

and Senate, as their future sovereign, and besought them to give her the same affection which they had ever shown toward him. The Assembly, moved to tears, unanimously pledged fidelity to the only heir of their beloved king.

After waiting a moment to regain his composure, the king continued to speak: "I have not thoughtlessly engaged in this perilous war which calls me far from you. Heaven is my witness that it is neither for my satisfaction nor personal interest that I go into this conflict. The emperor has ruthlessly insulted me in the person of my ambassadors; he has sustained my enemies and persecuted my friends, my brethren; and he has stretched out his arm to snatch from me my crown. Ready to sink down under the weight of oppression which hangs over them, the German Protestants stretch out suppliant hands to us. If it

please God, we will give them aid and protection. I am not ignorant of the dangers that await me; I have already been in many others, and by the grace of God I have ever come happily out of them. But I feel that I may lose my life there, and this is why, before leaving you, I recommend you all to the protection of the Omnipotent One. I pray him to bestow upon you his divine benedictions, in order that, after this terrestrial life which is so transient, we may all meet each other in eternity."

Then turning toward the senators, he besought God to accord unto them the wisdom and light necessary to the wise government of the kingdom. He next exhorted the Pastors to ever preach the pure Gospel to their flocks, and to serve themselves, as models of Christian life. He then addressed himself to the representa-

tives of the citizens and peasantry, wishing them prosperity in business and abundant harvests. "Finally," said he, "I send up to God most ardent prayers for all my subjects, whether present or absent. I say to you all farewell, from the depths of my heart, and—perhaps forever."

This discourse was interrupted more than once by the sobs of the people, and the king himself wept. After a few moments of silence he pronounced these words of the ninetieth psalm, which it was his habit to repeat before entering upon any important enterprise: "Turn thy face toward us, O Lord! . . . Let thy work appear unto thy servants, and thy glory unto their children. . . . Let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us, and establish thou the work of our hands upon us; yea, the work of our hands establish thou it."

Nine or ten days after he embarked with his little army at Elfsnaben, bearing the regrets and blessings of a multitude collected there to salute him at his departure.





CHAPTER IV.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS IN GERMANY.

His Difficulties—Siege of Magdeburg—Battle of Leipsic.

ASSAILED by contrary winds, the Swedish fleet was forced to seek refuge in a port neighboring to the one it had just left. And when it set forth again the weather was but little more favorable, and their voyage across was so prolonged that their provisions nearly failed. This double discouragement at the very outset was of a nature to have troubled a soul less stable than that of Gustavus Adolphus. Far from looking upon this as a bad presage, as soon as he set foot on the island of Rügen, a land under Austrian

rule, he threw himself upon his knees, and in a transport of gratitude thanked God, before his attentive and reverent army, in these words :

“O Thou that rulest over the heavens and the earth, over winds and over seas, how can I worthily thank thee for the marvelous protection which thou hast shown me during this perilous voyage. . . . My heart is full of gratitude for thy favors. O deign to favor my undertaking here, so that it may turn out, not to my, but to thy glory. Grant, through me, to deliver thy oppressed Church, and to be to thy faithful servants a source of great consolation. Thou who triest the hearts and reins of men, thou knowest the purity of my intentions. Grant unto me favorable weather and a prosperous wind, which may encourage my brave army, assure our hearts that thou art with us, and permit me to

continue the sacred work that I have undertaken. Amen."

It was indeed sacred work, a war begun with such sentiments and for such a noble end. He was no ambitious one, greedy of conquest and renown, this general, who sanctified every act of his life by prayer, and lived in constant communion with God. So great a fervor is rarely met with, especially among army officers—more confident in their own resources than in any aid from on high. But Gustavus Adolphus depended on aid from on high; and this is why he set out, without money and with a mere handful of men, to combat with the hosts of a great empire.

The debarkation of the Swedes took place June 24, 1630. At Augsburg, just one century before, to the month and day, the Protestants had made that celebrated Confession of Faith—which now served

them as a sign for rallying—in the presence of the emperor, Charles the Fifth, and the princes, dukes, and Bishops of all Germany. Now, it was at the moment, when the principles which were proclaimed then, were going to perish, that Gustavus Adolphus hastened to their defense. This coincidence doubtless struck him when he rendered thanks to God for having preserved him from the waves. The remembrance of such an anniversary, in recalling to him a past glory, was calculated to inflame his zeal and to fill him with confidence in the future. The faith of the founders of the Reformation, the divine unction of the author of the Confession of Faith, of Augsburg,* lived again in the heart of the Swedish hero, and so powerfully inspired his prayers that his soldiers were moved even to tears. “Weep not,” said he to

* The gentle and devout Melanchthon.

them, "but pray without ceasing. The more prayers the more victories."

After having called down the benediction of Heaven upon himself and his army, Gustavus Adolphus seized a spade, and the whole army, following his example, began throwing up intrenchments to fortify their camp against the enemy, stationed in great numbers in their vicinity. As soon as these works were finished, he addressed his soldiers as follows: "Think not that I undertake this war for myself or for my kingdom. We go to succor our oppressed brethren. By brilliant victories you can accomplish this generous project, and acquire for yourselves an immortal glory. Fear not the enemy that we are going to meet in battle; they are the same that you have already conquered in Russia. Your bravery has just compelled Poland to conclude a truce of six years. If you

still show the same courage and perseverance, you will secure to the evangelical Church and to our brethren in Germany the peace and security for which they are now suffering."

This address was followed by a proclamation of the military rules and regulations. According to their discipline, every attempt against life or property was punished with death.

Without losing a moment, Gustavus Adolphus brought under subjection the island of Rügen, and then chased the imperial troops from the neighboring islands, thus rendering communication with Sweden easy. He then advanced swiftly upon Stettin, the capital of Pomerania, and was ready to triumph, by force, over the hesitations of the old Duke Bogisla, who dared not choose between an alliance with Sweden or Austria.

Camped under the walls of the city, which he had summoned to receive a Swedish garrison, he received, while awaiting a response from Bogisla, a visit from a number of citizens devoted to the cause of Protestantism, and desirous of seeing the one who had volunteered to be its defender. The king welcomed them with great kindness. He conversed in friendly words with them of their common faith, of the misfortunes of their German brethren, and of plans that he had formed for their deliverance. His friendliness touched them; his eloquence persuaded them. The charms of his person contributed not a little to the sympathy and enthusiasm which he awakened. His face was pale and somewhat long, but regular and expressive. He had light hair, a handsome beard, and a piercing eye. Like his uncle, Gustavus Vasa, he was of lofty stature, tidy, well

proportioned, and noble in all his manners and actions. He loved music, and played some instruments very well. The brilliancy of his victories, united to so many admirable natural qualities, rendered him very popular.

The gates of Stettin opened, and Bogisla demanded the protection of Sweden in exchange for the aid that he lent the king. In order not to burden the inhabitants, Gustavus Adolphus camped his men under tents. On Sunday he was present at three Church services.

The Swedish army tarried here but a little; it left Stettin to conquer the rest of Pomerania. The commander of the imperial forces essayed in vain to hinder his progress. One day, however, a betrayal came near delivering him into the hands of his adversary. Gustavus Adolphus, with seventy of his cavalry, was scouting around

near the Austrian camp, in view of an attack. Suddenly he was surprised and surrounded by five hundred of the enemy. In vain his Swedish dragoons accomplished prodigies of valor. They were overwhelmed by numbers. The king had his horse shot under him. He saw his faithful followers falling all around him. He was hemmed in on every side, and was on the point of being made prisoner, when two hundred Fins, who were awaiting his return not far from there, warned of his danger by the firing, precipitated themselves like lightning upon the assailants, dispersed them, and saved their prince.

An Italian, named Quinti del Ponto, who had deserted the flag of the emperor for the Swedish camp, was suspected of having informed the Austrians of the king's departure and of his small escort. The day after this affair this miserable creature

disappeared and was heard of no more. Another Italian, who was a friend to the other, was arrested, and he not only denounced the former, but confessed complicity with him. When questioned before his condemnation, he said to the judges, "I have often contemplated taking the king's life, but my heart has ever prevented me, and every time I have seized the murderous weapon my hand has seemed paralyzed." What a man must he have been who inspired his most fierce enemies with respect and affection !

All these attempts against the life of Gustavus Adolphus were under the direction of the Jesuits, who used all means to make away with this most powerful obstacle which they had ever met with. At least, this is the opinion of one of the most learned and best esteemed among the biographers of the great king of Sweden.

Gustavus Adolphus never disquieted himself about these base plots. Distrust and suspicion had no access to this loyal soul, and for a long time he had often said to himself, with David, "I trust in God, I fear nothing: what shall man do unto me?"

Nothing could enervate his courage nor disturb his serenity. He went on from victory to victory. The greater part of the Pomeranian youth gathered around his triumphant standard, and the States, happy to see the country delivered from the insatiable avarice of Torquato Conti and the excesses of the imperial troops, unanimously voted him a voluntary contribution. The moderation and humanity of the Swedes gained for them the hearts of the population, and they were received every-where with joy. Toward the end of the year 1630, a few months after his de-

parture from Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus had driven the imperials from the duchy and commanded there as sovereign.

Notwithstanding his desire to penetrate into Mecklenburg, he was forced simply to surround it and to await the end of the winter.

The emperor, after having made sport of Gustavus Adolphus, calling him the snow-king, destined to melt as he approached the south, began to perceive that the Swedes were proof against all climates and seasons, and that he would have to assail them in earnest. He drew up an army which he put under the command of a companion of Wallenstein, General Pappenheim, whose experience and valor were equal. And the Catholic League, alarmed at the rapid success of this most terrible of all the champions of Protestantism, had levied troops and placed at their

head the vanquisher of Mansfeld and the Danes, Tilly, a general who had never lost a battle.

Since the disgrace of Wallenstein there had been no lack of mercenary soldiers in Germany, who would serve all parties without distinction, according to the reward offered. If Gustavus had been rich he could have taken into his service the greater part of these, and thus enlarged his army, which was too weak in numbers to combat two armies at once. He had to maintain himself in Pomerania as best he could, and seek, before going farther, increased aid, both as to men and money. A letter addressed to his faithful chancellor, Oxenstiern, December, 1630, reflects the difficulty of his situation, and his unalterable faith in God:

“May God, into whose hands I confide all, help us through this winter. The

summer will go better, thanks to your care and foresight. I would describe to you our position, but a saber-wound has stiffened my hand. Let it suffice you to know that the enemy has great advantages for establishing winter-quarters, since the whole of Germany is its prey. If I had more troops with me on the banks of the Oder I would advance. But if all things do not go according to our desires, this is no reason why we should be discouraged. I recommend to your care, my family; for many reasons it is worthy of interest. The mother has need of counsel; the daughter, a tender child, will be exposed to many tribulations if she ever knows how to reign, to many perils if others wish to reign. I confide them both, their future, my life, and all that I possess in this world, into the sacred and powerful guardianship of God, who has given me all

things. I am persuaded that all which may happen to me here on earth will always be that which is best for me; and after this life, I hope to enjoy eternal peace and joy."

In suspending the course of his victories, Gustavus Adolphus did not, however, remain inactive. He completed the conquest of Pomerania, in which two or three fortresses had refused to surrender, and advanced into Brandenburg, the key of Mecklenburg. Whenever he encountered the imperial troops he fought them, and so well maintained his positions, that Tilly, who had come hither to attack, drew back upon the Elbe, without daring to defend Frankfort-on-the-Oder, which the Swedes took by assault, toward the middle of winter, after a siege of three days.

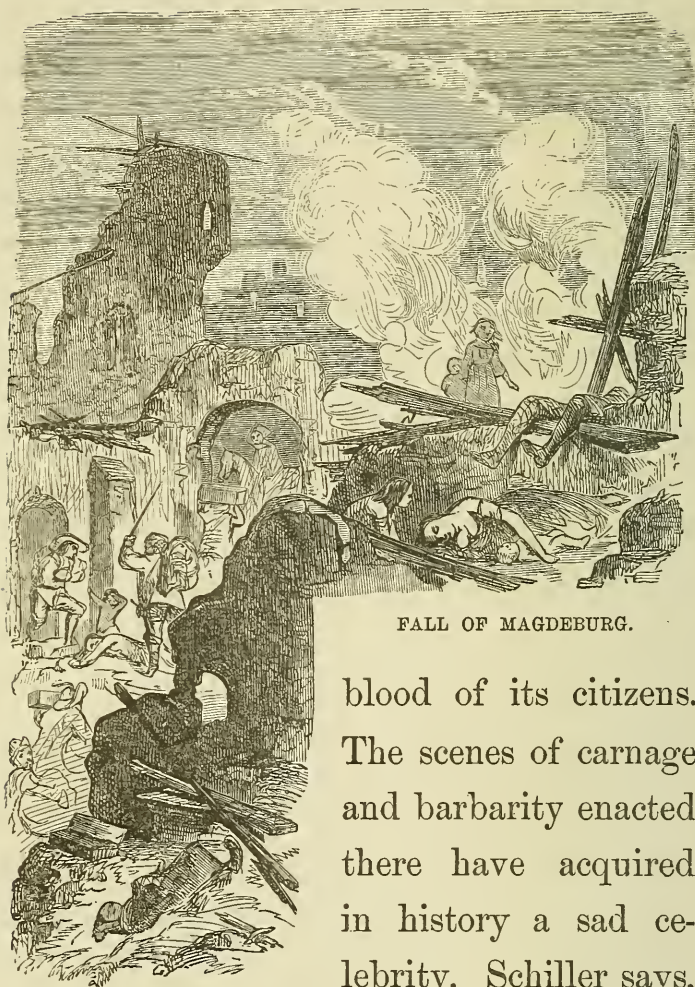
About this time Gustavus Adolphus, uncertain of the support of the Protestant

princes of Germany, who feared for his influence over their subjects, and looked upon him as a rival more than a friend, decided to accept of an alliance with France. The treaty was concluded, January 16, 1631, at Berwald in Brandenburg. Gustavus engaged to hold in Germany an army of thirty-six thousand men, destined to re-establish the Germanic empire upon the same footing as before the revolt of Bohemia and the Edict of Restitution. France, thereby hoping to put a boundary to the ever-increasing ambition of Austria, and to take from it the preponderance in Europe, gave an annual subsidy, and, what was worth more, the support of its name.

In the meantime, Tilly, ashamed of having retreated from the Oder without combat, had gone to besiege Magdeburg, which had already made common cause with Sweden. Gustavus Adolphus was not far

from this city, and longed to fly to its rescue; but his brother-in-law, the Elector of Brandenburg, and also the Elector of Saxony, ruled by selfish and jealous considerations, remained deaf to all the representations which he could make to them in the name of the liberties of Germany, of religion, and of humanity, and refused him a passage through their States.

The King of Sweden hesitated to employ force with two Protestant princes, one of whom, John George, Elector of Saxony, had instituted the formation of a new league in order to demand the revocation of the Edict of Restitution, and while hesitating, Magdeburg, after a heroic resistance, fell under the power of the number of Tilly's men, re-inforced by Pappenheim's troops, and aided by traitors. This city, the richest of Germany, was delivered over to pillage, and was inundated in the



FALL OF MAGDEBURG.

blood of its citizens. The scenes of carnage and barbarity enacted there have acquired in history a sad celebrity. Schiller says, "Women were dishonored in the presence of dying husbands and fathers, . . . fifty-three young girls were beheaded in one

church, whither they had fled for refuge. The Croatians laughed aloud as they cast little children into the midst of the flames, even while they stretched out to them their suppliant hands. The Walloons made sport of thrusting through the body nursing babes, snatched from their mother's arms! Twenty women cast themselves into the Elbe to escape the brutality of the soldiërs."

An eye-witness reported that several officers, horrified at the sight of so many atrocities, went and besought Tilly to put an end to them. He replied, "I have promised three days for pillaging and slaying. The soldiers must have some amusement after so many fatigues." To crown these horrors, weary of their own excesses, the victors set fire to the houses, and, says the same eye-witness, "twelve hours had scarcely passed, when there remained no

more of the vast and opulent city than two churches, a few huts, and smoldering ashes. . . . More than six thousand dead bodies were cast into the Elbe, and a still larger number must have been devoured by the flames; for the total number of victims sacrificed was over thirty thousand."

This frightful tragedy petrified with fear the whole of Protestant Germany. The Jesuits, always ready to profit by circumstances, tried to direct all the prejudice of it against Gustavus Adolphus, whom they accused of having abandoned Magdeburg, and of having sacrificed an important and devoted city to some special plan of a campaign. They hoped thus to withdraw from the King of Sweden the confidence and esteem of the Protestants. But Gustavus Adolphus had no difficulty in disproving these accusations. The facts already mentioned sufficiently justified him.

If the city was destroyed, the hinderances and unjust distrusts of the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony were the principal causes.

The innocence of Gustavus Adolphus shines out clearly in a letter sent to the Elector of Saxony at the moment when the city was threatened. "I see myself forced," wrote he, "to draw in my sails and to risk myself no further. It would be against all military art, to put myself between two undecided powers, or abandon the streams by which my supplies arrive. However, I wish to show my solicitude for Magdeburg, and even at the sacrifice of my life, I wish to do all in my power for her deliverance. May God aid me by his grace, in making my perseverance triumph over you. I declare myself, before God and before men, innocent of that which may happen. I cast the responsibility upon

those who, when Christianity is in danger, have experienced no compunctions in abandoning me.”

The terror which the ruin of Magdeburg at first caused was not long in changing into a legitimate indignation. Exasperated by the ever-increasing rigors of the emperor, whose band became daily more cruel and oppressive, the Protestant princes saw no other means of escaping their miserable fate than by casting themselves into the arms of Gustavus Adolphus. Most of them entered into an alliance with him. But the Elector of Brandenburg persisted in a neutrality too favorable to Austria to be long tolerated. The King of Sweden, after having exhausted all means of conciliation, camped his army before Berlin, declaring that the elector was no longer any thing but an enemy to him. At the sight of Swedish cannon, George William

consented to make a treaty with his brother-in-law. He consented to all the conditions that were proposed to him without modification. Gustavus was allowed to dispose of the fortresses as he wished, and received also a contribution in money.

During this time the hordes that had destroyed Magdeburg invaded Hesse Cassel and began similar works. The Thuringian country was also devastated by imperial troops, who seemed ever more and more devoured by the thirst for plunder and pleasure. Nothing could satiate so many brutal passions. The people near whom such soldiers were to pass were in consternation.

Gustavus Adolphus, assured of the assistance of Brandenburg, no longer hesitated to advance. He rescued the Hessian territory, and found, in the prince who governed it, one of his best and most faith-

ful allies. Without risking a decisive battle with an enemy so superior in numbers, he, nevertheless, remained master of the ground.

Tilly, after having wasted his time and forces before the Swedish camp, beat a retreat, and directed himself toward the territory of the Elector of Saxony, whose attitude and levying of troops were disapproved of by Austria. Saxony was a rich bait for the imperials. Up to this time, she had been spared on account of the attachment of her prince to the house of Austria, and of the need Ferdinand had of retaining her on his side. And so it was with the avidity of a bird of prey, that Tilly and his bands lighted down on the Saxons.

The frightened elector then sought a refuge under the powerful wing of the King of Sweden. He besought him to

come to his aid. "I deplore," said Gustavus Adolphus, "the fate of the elector, but he can accuse no one but himself for it. If he had sooner placed confidence in me, this thing would not have happened and Magdeburg would not have fallen. I am not now disposed to sacrifice the other German States to succor him. I cannot trust myself to a prince whose counselors are all in league with the emperor, and who will abandon me as soon as Austria flatters him, or as soon as the imperial army shall have left his States."

The marshal of the Elector of Arnheim, an able and cunning man, had been charged to make this delicate negotiation. He had orders to succeed at whatever price, and so, in spite of the severe and discouraging response which had just been given him, he redoubled his solicitations and obtained his wish, but under the hardest conditions.

The elector must deliver up the fortress of Wittenberg, which would put Gustavus in possession of the Elbe; he must advance three months' pay for the Swedish soldiers; give over into his hands his counselors, and send his eldest son to him as a hostage. The elector granted all. Gustavus Adolphus, who only wished to prove his sincerity and the firmness of his resolutions, then suddenly changed his language. "Tell your master," said he to Arnheim, "that his distrust of me when I wished to succor Magdeburg had awakened in me distrust of him; that the confidence he places in me to-day makes me forget the past. I ask of him only one month's pay for my troops, and I will soon make amends to him for this little sacrifice."

The two princes finally signed a treaty of alliance and united their two armies. On the morning of September 16, 1631,



Gustavus Addressing his Troops

they found themselves face to face with the imperial army, near Leipsic. It was there that the two most illustrious generals of Europe, Gustavus Adolphus and Tilly, were to measure themselves in a battle which should decide not only on which side was the superiority, but the future of Protestantism and Catholicism. To the success of this day was attached much more than a high military reputation; the very existence of the Reformation in Germany depended upon it. Gustavus Adolphus well knew this, and he displayed, in the disposition of his troops, all the resources of his admirable genius.

He said to his army, "The right is on your side. We battle not for the honors of this world, but for the Word and glory of God, for the true faith which alone can save us, the faith which the Catholics have cruelly oppressed, and which they

would gladly blot out of existence. Let us not doubt that the Omnipotent One, who has conducted us thus far, in a manner so remarkable, through dangers of every sort, will now give unto us his efficient aid. . . .”

After this general address to the men, he passed through the ranks, giving to every soldier words of encouragement and affection. Schiller has given of this battle, as of the taking of Magdeburg, a description which has become celebrated :

“Two million men,” says he, “might have made this a more bloody day, but not more decisive. . . . The resolution which Tilly had never lacked until then utterly failed him on that day. Without being decided to make battle with the king, he had not the firmness to avoid the conflict, and Pappenheim drew him into it in spite of himself. . . . Never did so

many dark presentiments show themselves on his ordinarily tranquil brow; the ghost of Magdeburg seemed to have followed him to the plains of Leipsic. A cannonade of two hours opened the battle. A west wind blew with violence, and drove against the Swedes the powder-smoke and clouds of dust from the newly worked fields. Suddenly, Gustavus Adolphus made a general movement of his troops northward, and this maneuver was executed with such rapidity that the enemy had no time to prevent it.

“Finally, Tilly abandoned his positions and attacked the Swedes; but being received by the most violent fire, he wheeled suddenly to the right, and fell upon the Saxons, whom he put to flight. . . . Pappenheim attacked with his cavalry the right wing of the Swedes, but without any effect; Gustavus Adolphus commanded

them in person. Seven times Pappenheim returned to the charge; seven times was he repulsed. He finally took to flight, leaving the battle-field to the conqueror. In the meantime, Tilly, after having routed the remainder of the Saxons, threw himself with all his force against the left wing of the Swedes. But Gustavus Adolphus had had the presence of mind to send three regiments, in all haste, to re-inforce it, and thus cover his own flank, exposed by the flight of the Saxons. . . .

“Already the enemy had begun to fold back upon itself, when the king himself appeared to decide the victory. Scarcely had he put to flight the left wing, than he directed his army corps and that of General Teufel toward the heights on which Tilly had placed his artillery. He seized them after a short struggle, and the enemy had to endure the fire of their own cannon.

Its flank, battered by the artillery, and exposed, in front, to the impetuous charges of the Swedes, the imperial army, called the invincible, finally broke. Tilly was obliged to order a retreat; but this retreat could only be made through the ranks of the vanquished. Suddenly a general disorder seized the imperial army; it disbanded and fled. Four regiments alone, composed of old soldiers, who had never turned their back to an enemy, kept in order and opposed a brazen wall to the redoubled attacks of the Swedes. . . . Convinced of the inutility of a longer resistance, and reduced to six hundred men, they withdrew from the battle field, which, from this moment, was no longer disputed against the Swedes; their victory was complete."

Gustavus Adolphus threw himself on his knees, in the midst of the dead and wounded, and, surrounded by his men,

poured forth aloud his gratitude to God, in an ardent prayer, for his wonderful triumph. Then, mounting his horse, and passing from rank to rank, he thanked his brave soldiers.

The same day he sent the news to his chancellor and his kingdom, in these simple words: "Although we have to deplore the loss of many brave men, we should before all and above all, thank God for his divine protection; for we were never in so great danger."

This never failing disposition to look upon the bright side, keeps ever in our view the Christian in the hero. This is the secret of that continual joy which one of his historians so much admires, and which St. Paul recommends as one of the most precious of faith's privileges, and as the purest reflection of Christian charity.



CHAPTER V.

His sojourn at Frankfort—His entrance into Nuremberg—Battle of the Lech.

THE results of the victory at Leipsic were immense. That day, Gustavus Adolphus gathered the fruit of more than a year's labors and fatigues, of many unimportant struggles, and of privations of every kind. The reunited forces of the Catholic League and of the emperor were annihilated. Of a formidable army, there remained no more than two thousand combatants, and Tilly was disgraced and discouraged by an irreparable misfortune. "Gustavus," says Michelet, "could do what he wished, could go whithersoever it seemed to him good." The Swedish tor-

rent had swept all the dikes which Austria opposed to it, and nothing could longer arrest it.

But the Swedish king showed his noble character by acts still grander than his victory. His first thought, after having rendered thanks to God, was a thought of reparation and justice. From Halle, whither he had followed and dispersed the remainder of the hostile army, he wrote a letter, dated September 17, in which he desired his chancellor to rejoin him, in order to oversee the reparations which he wished to have made to his despoiled brethren in the faith. He maintained unrelaxed discipline among his soldiers, as to order and religious observances. Every morning, after prayer, they sang a hymn that the king especially loved, and which expresses in a simple, faithful manner the condition of a Christian soul before God.

The following are a few of the stanzas, with a loss of beauty in translating:

“O Eternal One, this morning, as during my whole life, I wish to praise thee, and to send up, even to thy throne, the homage of a grateful heart.

“It is thou, O my God, who, during the night just past, hast helped me by thy grace, and preserved me from harm and danger. I humbly pray thee to forgive the sins which fill my days and merit thy wrath.

“It is to God that I would leave the direction of all my affairs; for he alone can accomplish all.

“It is he who blesses my actions, my hopes, and gives me my success. It is into his hands who gave, that I replace my body, my soul, my life, and all that he has given. Let him do according to his good pleasure.

“And now I say amen, in the assurance that God will do all for the best. My arm is still extended, and I am ready to continue the work he has confided to me, at the post, and in the career where he has placed me.”

How touching the spectacle of a camp where both commander and commanded have such a reveille !

At Halle, Gustavus divided his army. He charged his ally, the Elector of Saxony, to penetrate into Bohemia, impatient to shake off the imperial yoke. He set to himself the task of conquering all of western Germany, in order to deprive Austria of the rich countries from whence she drew her greatest resources, and to smother the Catholic League in its several centers.

Even the Catholics, victims, like the Protestants, of the cupidity and bad treatment of the imperials, received Gustavus

as a liberator. His march from Halle even to the Rhine was, indeed, triumphal. In Thuringia he found a new ally, the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, who soon became one of his ablest generals. He took the severest measures to prevent all abuse of power among his officers, and of excess among his soldiers. He wished to show himself the more moderate and just, where it might naturally not be expected—in a country whose faith he rejected, and which had ever been hostile to his cause.

The irreproachable conduct of his army inspired admiration and confidence. A historian relates that a Swede, forgetting the example of his comrades and the commands of his general, was on his way to camp with a cow that he had taken from a peasant, when a strong hand was laid upon his shoulder. He turned and saw that it was none other than his good gen-



GUSTAVUS ARRESTING A PLUNDERER.

eral, who said to him, in a firm tone, but with a look of fraternal pity, "My son, my son, you must go to be judged." The penalty for such offenses was death.

At the approach of the Swedish troops the Bishop of Wurtzburg, one of the most ardent and active enemies of Protestantism and a member of the Catholic League, fled, and left his followers without defense and without a chief, to the mercy of a powerful and offended army. The capital of this

archbishopric, Wurtzburg, made no attempt at resistance and submitted immediately. The other cities of this State followed its example. Gustavus Adolphus regarded as his own a country which its ruler had abandoned. Inviting the local authorities to swear allegiance to him, he immediately organized a government, composed of an equal number of Catholics and Protestants. He rendered back to the latter their possessions and opened their places of worship, but left the Catholics also in possession of the same freedom, and, as an historian expresses it, "avenged by not a single retaliation, the long and cruel oppression to which the Protestants had been subjected."

He practiced the same tolerance everywhere, and thus had the imperishable honor of being the first prince who comprehended the grand principle of liberty

of worship, and, in the midst even of a war, kindled by religious fanaticism, he proclaimed in Europe the sacred rights of conscience. And so, even from the testimony of a Catholic, so much uprightness and gentleness disarmed the most inveterate hatred, and Gustavus was, for the greater part of the Catholics, if not a savior, as he was for the Protestants, at least a just and good master, who respected their rights and preserved their liberties.

At the taking of a certain Catholic city his officers urged him to use some severity toward the inhabitants, who had been very hostile to him and at times very cruel to the Protestants. The king replied, "I have come to break the chains of bondage and not to forge new ones. Let them live as they have lived."

Surrounded by affectionate Protestant populations, and accepted by even the

Catholic countries, Gustavus Adolphus was in a sure way of success, and Germany stood no longer in his way. The hindrance to a perfect success came from elsewhere. Richelieu, who had wished to diminish the power and influence of Austria, trembled at seeing the increasing grandeur of the King of Sweden. A preponderance of the Protestant party succeeded to that of the Austrians. Over the ruins of the old empire there would rise, perhaps, a new empire, whose head would be the greatest general of the epoch. This peril which threatened all Europe with a revolution must be averted. Richelieu, ally as he was, became almost an enemy of Gustavus Adolphus. He declared himself protector of the German Catholic princes, and, as regarded them, declared himself neutral; thus offering them the means of arming themselves for Austria, while pre-

tending to take sides with no one. He thus awakened, by his intrigues and infidelity, the jealousy of the Protestant princes, and caused them to have fears of finding a master in one who proclaimed himself their friend. The northern hero was again to find himself alone, as at his arrival in Germany. However, he pursued his march, and in a very short time conquered Franconia. Arrived before Frankfort-on-the-Main, he found an unexpected resistance. This opulent and populous city had ever been attached to the imperials on account of commercial privileges which accrued to it through them. Its fairs had great celebrity, and it feared to lose much if it should open its gates to the Swedes. Summoned to surrender, it sent a deputation to the king to explain the embarrassment of its position, and its wholly material reasons for not being favorable to him.

Gustavus Adolphus was indignant. "I am astonished," said he, "to learn that Frankfort prizes more highly its wealth, than it does the duties which religion and patriotism impose upon it; it is, indeed, little to its honor to talk of its sale-shops and its fairs when the liberty of Germany and the future of the Reformation are at stake. Moreover, from the Isle of Rügen to the banks of the Rhine, I have found the keys of all the fortresses; I can also find those of Frankfort. It is for the well-being of Germany, and for the independence of the Protestant faith, that I do battle; no obstacle can stop me, for I am conscious of the justice and nobleness of my cause. I see plainly that the inhabitants of Frankfort think it sufficient to extend to me a finger, but I must have the entire hand; on this condition alone will I protect them."

These frank and energetic words opened

the gates; and Gustavus Adolphus entered Frankfort with the pomp of an emperor who, according to ancient usage, was about to be crowned. "During his short sojourn in that city," says Schiller, "he ceased not to receive visits of princes and ambassadors who came to pay homage to his glory, to appease his wrath, or to implore his assistance." These brilliant displays were displeasing to the Queen, Maria Eleanor, and to the chancellor, Oxenstiern, both of whom had come to rejoin, the one, her beloved husband, the other, his prince and friend. Under all these outside protestations of friendship, the former, guided by her womanly tenderness and instinct, the latter by his long experience and prudence in business affairs, had discovered the distrust and envy that Gustavus inspired in all these sovereigns, and the discord that reigned among themselves.

Nor did the king himself fail to read his allies; and he was deeply afflicted with what he discovered in them, if not indeed cast down. It was a real sorrow to him to see the noble cause which he was defending, compromised every moment for petty, trivial, and personal interests. One day, before several assembled princes, he said, with some bitterness, "I am inclined to make peace, if we may have honorable conditions, which will assure the well-being of the Protestant princes and their oppressed subjects; for it was with this end in view that I undertook this war for which I have shed my blood. But, know this, first of all, that I will never conclude a peace like the preceding, (that of Lübeck,) which sacrificed the honor of the Protestant princes, placed their unfortunate subjects under an iron yoke, and gravely compromised our religion."

The Landgrave George of Hesse Darmstadt was among the number that hung around the king at Frankfort. It was his ambition to bring together the two parties. He held secret relations with the emperor, at the same time that he appeared to be greatly attached to the King of Sweden.

Gustavus Adolphus one day said, in the presence of this prince, "If the emperor does not trouble me, I will not trouble him; your lordship can tell him so, for I know that you are a good subject of the emperor."

The landgrave, somewhat in confusion, stammered out some words of justification. "When a man," said the king, "gives you thirty thousand thalers a year, you may well afford to be his friend. If I should make such a gift, the man would, indeed, have to merit it."

But Gustavus had to do, not only with

traitors, but he saw himself exposed, as in Pomerania, to the assassin's blade. One evening an individual was found in his chamber, armed. He was seized, and proved to be a Catholic priest of Antwerp. About the same time, it was said that a Jesuit, for two successive Sabbaths, encouraged his hearers to pray for the success of a project which God and one man alone knew, and whose aim was to insure repose to the Roman Church.

Under these circumstances, the friends of the king besought him to be more upon his guard than he had ever been, to insure his personal safety. "A king," replied Gustavus, "cannot live shut up in a box. The wicked have not so much power as ill-will, and confidence in God is the best safeguard. Then I do not consider this danger to be so formidable. Besides, if the project of this man had succeeded, the

loss of me would not have caused you so much misfortune as you believed, for God knows perfectly well how long he wishes to employ my frail arm. If I fall, he will raise up another instrument more worthy and more powerful than I. His work does not depend upon the life of one man." His friends insisting still that he should take some precautions, "Will you then," replied he, "that I should learn to distrust Providence?"

Urged by Richelieu, Gustavus Adolphus consented to make peace with Bavaria. He promised not to march upon their territory, provided they should restore to the Protestants the property of which they had deprived them, and allow them liberty of worship.

Maximilian, in order to gain time, entered into a conference with the King of Sweden; but during the negotiations, he

prepared himself for war, and concerted with Ferdinand to attack the Swedes. A letter which he wrote to Pappenheim was intercepted, and Gustavus, indignant at this false play, warned France of it and declared that he would invade Bavaria. On hearing of this determination, Pope Urban VIII. said, "The King of Sweden has chosen the wiser and surer part. He would commit a great mistake if he should turn elsewhere before having conquered Maximilian."

While awaiting a favorable moment Gustavus Adolphus crossed the Rhine, vainly opposed by the Spaniards, and, on December 13, 1631, Mayence, after four days of siege, opened to him its gates. He stopped a short time in the city, leaving the conquest of the surrounding country to some of his generals.

His repose was of no long duration.

Recalled into Franconia by the success of Tilly, who had driven the Swedish troops from the Bishopric of Bamberg, and was marching upon Nuremberg, he hastened to meet the Bavarian general, and forced him to withdraw toward the Danube.

He thus reached Nuremberg, March 21, where he was received with great enthusiasm. He entered with a simple escort of Swedish dragoons, having left his army at some distance from the city. The generals and German princes whom he had rescued accompanied him. The magistrates and principal citizens went to meet him and to offer him the keys, as a sign of obedience and fidelity. The streets were filled with an applauding and enthusiastic crowd. The thunder of cannon and the ringing of bells mingled with the loud acclamations of the people. This enthusiastic welcome deeply moved the heart of the king. He

was in the center of Germany, in one of the most powerful cities of the empire, among a people of his own faith, and one that had long been devoted to his cause. The future smiled hopefully toward him, and he, with all that happy population, thanked God from the depths of his heart, and responded very affectingly to all these demonstrations of which he was the honored object. All eyes overflowed with tears.

When the king came to the apartments destined for him, he was presented with the gifts which the city had prepared for him. They consisted of considerable sums of money and of two silver globes of wonderful workmanship. Gustavus then addressed to the magistrates and citizens the following words, which were soon spread abroad by thousands of printed copies:

“I thank you, both you and your city,

for these rich gifts. I can wish you nothing better in return than perseverance in the evangelical faith. Let nothing turn you from it; neither threats, nor promises, nor any of the passions to which human nature is subject. You have presented me with the emblems of heaven and earth; let not the riches of earth make you forgetful of the still more precious treasures of heaven. This favor I beseech God for you. You have wicked and wily enemies, whose aim is the annihilation of Protestantism. Their hope is to found a peace upon the ruin of all Protestants, and they seek their end by the destruction of millions of souls. God has confided to you the administration of an opulent and powerful city. . . . I doubt not that you so govern it as not to fear to give the account which you will, one day, have to render at the tribunal of God.

“Your city, up to this time, has been miraculously preserved from the dangers and persecutions which surround and beset it. I, too, have been the object of a not less wonderful protection since setting my feet on these shores. . . . In the misfortunes of those professing the Protestant faith around you, as well as in your own sufferings, God has aimed to make us feel how much we are sinners. For you, for the defense of the Gospel, I left my peaceful home and came into your agitated country. I have sacrificed the resources of my poor subjects, their blood, my life, and the love of my family. I will do for you all that the grace of God will give me power to do. On your side, be willing to suffer for awhile, if need be, for our sacred cause. Remain faithful to it. Then God will bless you; he will cause your city to flourish. His name will be every-where

revered, and after the glory and honor of earth, will come that of heaven."

After having dined, the king departed from the city in the midst of a population still more enthusiastic than at his entrance. In order to perpetuate the memory of his visit, they multiplied his features on cloth and in bronze. Poesy chanted his virtues, and the following are some stanzas written on that occasion, bearing the biblical stamp and coloring, found in almost all Protestant authors of that epoch :

"With delight he enters here, this warrior adorned with so many virtues, whom old and young have for so long a time desired ; the good King of Sweden, our glorious protector ; with delight he enters here for the welfare of us all.

"With delight he enters here, this new Gideon, whose brow is radiant ; this second Joshua, the dear and invincible hero,

whose triumphs are known in all the world.

“ With delight he enters here, that one who directs the battles of the Lord ; this other David who has brought Goliath low ; this valiant man whose heart is without fraud, and who seeks only the glory of God. Where is there an object more worthy of admiration ! ”

On leaving Nuremberg, Gustavus presented himself and his army before Donawerth, noted for the misfortunes which its ardent zeal for the Reformation had drawn upon it. A strong Bavarian garrison defended it, but it could not resist the impetuosity of the Swedes. The evangelical worship was soon re-established there.

The king now found himself on the frontiers of Bavaria and was master of the Danube. The little river Lech was the only barrier separating him from the States

of Maximilian, from the *boulevard* of Catholicism in Germany.

Protected by this river, which the melting of the snows, accumulated upon the mountains of the Tyrol, had converted into a raging torrent, the Bavarians, under the leadership of Tilly and of their duke, seemed to defy all efforts of the enemy. The bravest and most skillful Swedish generals regarded this position as invulnerable, and any attack as dangerous folly. Gustavus Horn, illustrious through recent triumphs, opposed with more energy than all the others this perilous undertaking. "How," cried the king, "we have crossed the Baltic, we have passed all the great rivers of Germany, and shall we stop now before a miserable little rivulet like the Lech?"

Having himself been out to reconnoiter, and that at the peril of his life, his eagle-

glance marked for him immediately the spot where he could effect a passage and engage in conflict. He marked that the shores of the Lech were not of equal height on both sides. This would give an advantage to the Swedish artillery, which could be so placed as to command the Bavarian camp. With an unheard of audacity and address he succeeded in throwing a bridge across the river, and, on April 5, after a hot struggle, he put the Bavarians to flight, and the old Tilly, mortally wounded, had to take the young and victorious Gustavus as the minister of divine justice, who was chosen to punish him for the atrocities committed at Magdeburg.

When the king saw closely the enemies' camp and the admirable intrenchments which defended it, he said, "If I had been in the place of this Bavarian I should have rather had my beard shot away

by a bullet than have abandoned such a position."

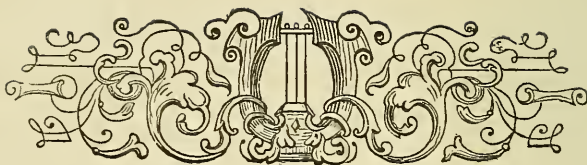
This victory opened Bavaria to Gustavus Adolphus. He could enter it without fear; but he desired first to deliver Augsburg, that city around which hung, for every Protestant, so many dear remembrances. The Edict of Restitution had deprived the inhabitants of the liberty of worship, and put a Catholic administration at their head; so that Protestant Germany had the sorrow of seeing the Confession of Augsburg outraged, even in its cradle.

Gustavus Adolphus drove out the Bavarian garrison which occupied the city, and replaced the Catholic authorities by a Protestant magistracy, which swore fidelity to him. Then he and his *cortege* directed themselves toward one of the churches which he had devoted to the reform worship. Here, his chaplain, Doctor Fabri-

cius, preached from Psa. xii, 5: "For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord; I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him." After the sermon the one hundred and third Psalm was sung, with a beautiful accompaniment.

It was not without great emotion that the citizens of Augsburg chanted this psalm, which expressed so well the sentiments of gratitude with which their hearts were filled, and which depicted, so to speak, their own deliverance. Several days were passed in feasts and public rejoicing.





CHAPTER VI.

LAST CAMPAIGNS OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

Siege of Ingolstadt—Conquest of Bavaria—Expedition of Walenstein against Nuremberg.

MAXIMILIAN, after his defeat, fled behind the walls of Ingolstadt. Gustavus Adolphus, tearing himself away from the pleasures of Augsburg, resolved to take that fortress, in order to have a good point for finishing the destruction of the Bavarian army. But the bravery of the garrison, aided by the troops of Maximilian and the strength of the ramparts, frustrated his attempts.

The king came near losing his life thereby. He was examining the works of the enemy when a twenty-four pounder swept

his horse from under him, entangling him somewhat in its fall. Those who surrounded him uttered a cry of fright and flew to his side, fearing to find a corpse. Gustavus arose, at the same moment, covered with blood and dust, and said, "The apple *is not yet ripe.*" His horse was dead, and his young friend, the Margrave of Baden, who was near him, had his head shot off a few moments after. On his return to camp, the king was congratulated by his officers on account of his own safety, while they regretted the premature death of the young margrave. The king replied, "The death of the margrave and the bullet which passed so near me recall to my mind this ancient decree: 'Man, thou shalt die!' Neither my high birth, nor my royal crown, nor my weapons, nor my many victories, can save me from it. I submit to the will of God; if he takes me from

the world, he will not abandon the sacred cause which I defend."

The king, like all true disciples of Christ, often thought of the end of life, and prepared himself earnestly to be ready to meet his Judge. He knew that only a breath separates time from eternity, and that death is but the beginning of a new life. The prestiges of pomp and grandeur had not so dazzled him as to make him forget his frailty, and the account that he would have to settle beyond the tomb. The cloud of glory that hung over him had not hidden heaven out of his sight. This is proved by that deep humility, that constant recognition of his sins, that continual recourse to the grace of God, which we have so often remarked in his words and conduct. The farther he advanced in life the more he occupied himself with the salvation of his soul, and the more he pre-

pared himself not to be surprised at the coming of his Master. We may almost think that a presentiment of the future abided ever with him.

After leaving Ingolstadt, Gustavus Adolphus took the Bavarian road and marched straight for Munich. France had sent an ambassador to stop him. "Truly," said Louis XIII., "it is time to put a limit to the enterprises of this Goth." But to all argumentation in favor of Maximilian and of his pretended neutrality, the King of Sweden replied, "I know too well the Elector of Bavaria; he wears a double cloak, and, according to circumstances, he turns out the red or the blue. . . . This time I will not be entrapped." The ambassador, then passing from soliciting to threats, talked loudly of the powerful military forces of France, which could, he said, abandon Sweden to herself, and furnish

Bavaria with forty thousand men. "If France withdraws from me her alliance," immediately said Gustavus Adolphus, "then I shall have that of the Turks, and the Turks are not worse allies than the papists. In any event, I know that I can count upon the aid of the All Powerful, and that it is He who has sent me into Germany."

In spite, then, of Louis XIII. the Goth advanced upon the Bavarian territory, without meeting a single soldier to dispute his passage. But fanaticism had been so excited by the clergy, that every Bavarian considered it as a sacred duty to preserve his country from the impure contact of the heretics. For them, the King of Sweden was Antichrist, and in their prayers they besought God to preserve them from the Swedish demon. To slay a Swede was thought a meritorious act, no matter how accomplished. Bands of the peasantry

were formed, and woe to the soldier who fell into their hands. Romish fanaticism has ever known how to invent new and varied tortures. In Bavaria, as in Spain, it had the genius of cruelty.

Gustavus Adolphus, at the sight of these horrors, felt his blood boil with indignation, and thoughts of vengeance presented themselves before him. But he soon conquered these feelings, and instead of maltreating these madmen who were making martyrs of his soldiers, and taking him for an agent of Satan, he proved to them, by his goodness and patience, that he was more Christian and less heretic than they. He watched more closely than ever to maintain perfect army discipline, and met the most bitter hatred by the most inexhaustible clemency.

At Landshut, as soon as the Swedish army appeared under the walls, the garri-

son fled and the inhabitants concealed themselves, in order to escape a treatment which they looked upon as just and inevitable. Re-assured by the peaceful attitude of their victors, struck with the mildness and order which reigned in their ranks, they came forth, and the chiefs of the authorities fell at the king's feet, and entreated him for their lives and for the lives of the inhabitants. Gustavus replied to them, "When I think of the cruelties that you have perpetrated on my soldiers, I may truly ask myself whether you are men or ferocious beasts, and I scarcely know how to have compassion on you." He wished to make no promises, and departed from the city, which kept a death-like silence, without having made any decision. The sky was covered with clouds, and while setting out, the king was dazzled by a vivid flash of lightning, followed by

a fearful clap of thunder. This incident called to the mind of the king the living God, who does not pardon those who will not pardon, and Landshut was only condemned to pay a contribution to help carry on the war.

From Landshut, Gustavus Adolphus went toward Munich, which city he entered May 7, 1632, with his usual *cortege* of princes and Swedish generals. Frederick, the unhappy King of Bohemia, was by his side and saw his most cruel enemy meet with an adversity similar to what had befallen himself when, ten years before, Maximilian invaded Bohemia, and drove him from his capital. Now he, in his turn, was exiled from his estates, and Frederick sat down triumphant in his palace. What a striking example of the instability and changeability of human affairs! At dinner, Gustavus remarked to Frederick, "After

such unexpected revolutions, you may yet hope to dine, in peace and repose, one day, in your own capitol."

Many sought to induce the king to avenge upon this city the sacking of Magdeburg. He refused to gratify this feeling of cruel revenge, and forbade, under pain of death, any destruction or molestation of the inhabitants. This conduct conciliated the minds of all. No one could help rendering homage to so generous an adversary. Even the Jesuits praised his nobility of soul. Toward the latter, Gustavus manifested an extreme clemency. He not only did not expel them, but he visited them in their convent. The Superior addressed him with a speech in Latin, exalting his eminent qualities. The king replied in the same language, and engaged in a discussion on the subject of the sacrament. He vigorously sustained the evangelical

doctrines upon this important point, without once departing from language of the most perfect courtesy, or failing to show a sincere respect for the opinions of his antagonists. His old generals complained of so much complaisance, and said, "The king would do better to put to flight these Jesuits, than to discuss with them thus."

Gustavus divined their thoughts, and on leaving the convent he pleasantly remarked,

"Why would you persecute these men? Do you not see how much they injure the cause which they defend, and how much they help on the one which they oppose?"

Wise words, and full of meaning, which contain a lesson by which we, in our times, as well as the King of Sweden in his, might profit.

Gustavus Adolphus did not remain long in Munich, whose magnificence he much

admired, and which, on account of its arid surroundings, he called *a golden saddle on a poor horse*.

Wallenstein, at the head of a large army, was coming to meet him. Already, Gustavus possessed in Germany, Franconia, the Electorate of Mayence, a part of Swabia, and Bavaria; and his ally, the Elector of Saxony, had just taken Bohemia from the emperor. The different generals held well their conquests. The Catholic League was dissolved, and Austria lay open on all sides. Ferdinand was trembling at Vienna. He had no more troops, nor even a general. The enemy was approaching. He now humbled himself before the haughty Duke of Friedland, and in a few months forty thousand men were ready to defend him, under the command of the greatest general of the empire. Wallenstein began the campaign by expelling the Saxons from

Bohemia. By the end of May there was not a single Saxon soldier left in the country. Maximilian then conjured the victor to save his States, and, like Ferdinand, humbly besought succor from, and put himself at the mercy of, the man whom he had previously disgraced. The Duke of Friedland, after this event, said to his officers, "Finally, I have constrained my mortal enemy to implore my pardon and my support. I am avenged for all the evil he has caused me."

The two armies united amounted to sixty thousand men, and the Swedes were only twenty thousand, when it was rumored that Wallenstein proposed to attack Nuremberg. If Gustavus had only listened to the cold counsels of selfishness, instead of gathering up his troops dispersed about Germany, he would have avoided meeting the enemy, and abandoned Nu-

remberg to its own resources. But the terrible fate of Magdeburg was not effaced from his memory, and he decided to perish with his little army, rather than expose a city from which he had received such ardent affection and devotion, to the fury of the savage imperials. He did not hesitate, but hastened to make all possible preparation against danger. On arriving, he made haste to surround the city with a fortified camp, which formed a second rampart, and gave a place for lodging the soldiers without inconveniencing the inhabitants. Aided by the anxious zeal of the citizens and neighboring peasantry, the soldiers soon made ready their immense works. The magistrates made all efforts to collect an abundance of provisions, and to organize a numerous guard of citizens, which should maintain order or contribute to a defense.

“Nuremberg,” said Gustavus, “is the

apple of my eye, and I will defend it with all my power." There was a most complete union between soldiers and inhabitants. The people sang, "Nuremberg, thou ornament of the empire, the enemy has sworn thy destruction. But God has looked upon thee with a compassionate eye, and has sent thee, from Sweden, a father. There he is, yonder under the vault of heaven, which, with his troop of heroes, watches over thee. Let nothing be found wanting by them. Thy safety depends upon them. Magdeburg now wishes that she had done yet more for her defense; but prudence often comes too late, and after the whole evil is accomplished."

It was with such feelings of confidence and mutual sympathy that they prepared to receive the enemy. And they waited not long. But instead of attacking the city, Wallenstein established his camp opposite

to it, at less than a league's distance from that of the Swedes, and in an impregnable position. "Up to the present we have had enough battles," said he; "I wish to teach the King of Sweden another mode of warfare."

He hoped to conquer the Swedes by starving them. He was ignorant of the resources that the city had furnished for its defenders, and had not foreseen that he and his army might be the first to suffer from the scourge which he wished to draw upon the enemy. The inhabitants of the country around had fled, and borne all away with them. The Duke of Friedland, not finding any thing for the feeding of his army, was obliged to send to his ally, the Elector of Bavaria, for provisions. In order to supply their daily wants, the imperials disputed with the Swedes the little provisions that yet remained in the coun-

try. Hence there followed frequent skirmishes, in which there was but little profit, and a loss of time and men. The two armies were thus exhausting themselves in these fruitless struggles. Want began to be felt on both sides, and contagion followed in its train. So, only a few days after the arrival of a re-inforcement of forty thousand men, sent by Oxenstiern, August 24, Gustavus Adolphus resolved to attack the imperials in their camp, since they refused battle. He hoped thus to escape that slow agony which had been diminishing the strength of his valiant army for three months.

But the heights occupied by Wallenstein hurled out death by the mouths of several hundred cannon, while the assailants made the most desperate efforts to pass over that barrier of bullets and fire. Exposed on all sides to the fire of an

enemy admirably sheltered behind its intrenchments, the Swedes gained no inch of space except to lose it a moment after. The combat was terrible. Wallenstein had his horse killed from under him, and a cannon-ball grazed the sole of the boot of the king. The battle raged with fury until night. Gustavus had two thousand men less, and Wallenstein yet held his position. The Swedish troops withdrew in good order, the enemy not daring to follow them.

The war of famine began afresh; and the laws of discipline were broken, even in the Swedish camp. The German troops first set the example, and the rest of the army found the aggravation of their sufferings sufficient reason for imitating them. On hearing, through the complaints of the maltreated peasantry, that his soldiers were tarnishing their ancient reputation, and

causing the name Swede, which had ever before been so much loved, to be now hated, Gustavus was grievously afflicted, and his displeasure fell upon the first authors of these disorders. He called together the German princes and their officers. He then talked to them with an extraordinary measure of severity:

“Complaints are coming to me from all sides,” said he, “concerning the conduct of our troops. The people say that their friend, the King of Sweden, is doing them more evil than their implacable enemy, Wallenstein. The Swedes, say they, make war like the Croats. These reproaches afflict my heart above all, knowing the fact that they are only too well founded. However, I am innocent of these disorders—I have ever forbidden them and severely punished them. It is you, you miserable Germans, who ravage your own country,

rob your fellow-citizens, and urge on to despair your brethren in the faith, whom you have sworn to protect! Your presence recalls to me all your infamies, and my heart is stirred with indignation. You horrify me! If you were true Christians at all, you would strive to do your duty to your country and your brethren, and you would recall to mind what I have done for you. It is for you that I risk my life and sacrifice my ease. It is for you that I have depopulated my kingdom and emptied my coffers. I have spent for you immense sums of gold, and I have not received of you, nor of all Germany, enough to purchase a doublet. All that God has given me, I have given you without reserve, nor do I demand any thing of you in return; for I would rather return home poor and naked than to enrich myself at your expense.

“If you murmur, if you forget God and honor enough to abandon me, I will surround myself with my Swedes and my Fins; we will defend ourselves to the last, and the whole world shall see that, as a Christian king, I would rather lose life than sully by crime the sacred work which God has intrusted to me. I pray you, in the name of divine mercy, to look within yourselves, to question your own consciences. Remember that you must render an account to God for your conduct, and that you must one day appear before the tribunal of that Judge who sees all things.”

The situation of his army was no longer tolerable. For a long time, the two armies had been in presence of each other, and Wallenstein remained ever within his intrenchments. The losses on both sides were immense. The heat of dog-days in-

creased the general distress. The corpses in both camps sent forth an infectious odor, and provisions became every day more rare. Deprived of food, and breathing a pestilential air, the soldiers seemed all condemned to perish, conquered by disease and famine.

Gustavus could not impose so inglorious and cruel death upon so many brave men. On September 8, 1632, he left the territory of Nuremberg, leaving a garrison in the city sufficient to protect it from a surprise. He passed slowly before the Austrian camp, and awaited the enemy for four hours. But Wallenstein stirred not. Accustomed to easy victories, he put off, as long as possible, the meeting in battle with that one whom he himself proclaimed to be *the bravest warrior* and *the most skillful general* of the world. Himself, a man without principles, whose only God and

law were cupidity and ambition, he made war as a player, who, a long time successful, fears to risk his whole fortune at a single throw—he was insolent to the feeble, but timid before the strong.

Gustavus, despairing of bringing him out, directed his course toward Windsheim in Bavaria, in order to complete the conquest of that country, and penetrate farther into Austria. Scarcely had he turned his back than Wallenstein broke up his camp, after having, according to his custom, marked his way by the burning of several villages, and so manifested by this terrible leave-taking what barbarous designs he had had toward Nuremberg. Of the sixty thousand men of which his army was composed, he had only thirty-six thousand left, of whom the Bavarians formed a fourth part. The Swedes were reduced to thirty thousand, and had left

twenty thousand dead under the walls of Nuremberg.

In order to insure the success of his operations in Bavaria, Gustavus Adolphus went to lay siege to Ingolstadt, hoping to repair his former check, and to take from Maximilian his surest asylum. Suddenly, he learned that Wallenstein was laying Saxony waste, and making it pay dearly for its sympathy with the Swede. At this news he again put aside the execution of his plan and flew to the succor of his ally.





CHAPTER VII.

THE CLOSE OF THE LIFE OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

Return of the Swedes into Saxony—Victory and Death of Gustavus Adolphus at Lutzen—His Administration in Sweden.

AFTER having joined his troops with those of Bernard de Weimar, the King of Sweden marched against the Duke of Friedland, following the route of the previous year, but in the opposite direction. Twenty thousand men, experienced in former campaigns, were under his command. Every-where the people were happy to see him again, and gave him a hearty welcome. They never ceased admiring the battalions in their imposing martial array, with Gustavus at their head, riding in the profoundest silence upon his large white

steed, not distinguishing himself from the simple soldier, save by the long white plume of his small gray hat, made after the Swedish fashion.

When this valiant army stopped for repose anywhere no disorderly conduct whatever was observed. Men and their possessions were every-where respected. In Franconia and Thuringia the Swedes prayed, morning and evening, with their hosts and thanked them for their hospitality. The Germans of these countries looked upon the soldiers as members of their own family, and separated from them in tears.

A trifling event contributed particularly to add to their appreciation of the goodness of the King of Sweden, and was looked upon as a good omen for the future. Nor is it forgotten among them to this day. As he was passing through a certain sec-

tion of the country, the king saw a bird of prey pursuing a lark. Just as his attention was attracted to the scene, the little persecuted bird flew down and lighted upon his bosom. The king smilingly took it, held it tenderly in his hands, and said, "Poor little bird, may God protect you;" then, when the bird of prey was flown away, and the lark out of danger, he set it free, thanking God for giving him even this small opportunity for saving one of his innocent creatures from persecution. In this trifling event was plainly symbolized the work which Gustavus Adolphus accomplished. Austria, for Protestant Germany, was a bird of prey, ready to devour it; and it was into his hands that it cast itself, in order to recover its liberty.

At Erfurt, Gustavus found the queen, who was awaiting him there. She was so anxious to see him that she hastened out

to meet him, which she did, in one of the public squares of the city. But their rejoicing could be but of short duration, for Wallenstein was only a little way off from Erfurt.

The next day, October 28, 1632, Gustavus Adolphus called together the magistrates of the city, and addressed them in the following words:

“I now confide to your care that which I hold most precious upon earth, the queen, my beloved wife. You know, sirs, that every thing in this world is subject to vicissitudes, and above all, war, that scourge which God uses to chastise the perversity of men. Just as to any other, some misfortune may fall to my lot, perhaps death. If such should be the will of God concerning me, have, for my cherished wife, the fidelity and devotion of which you have ever given me the proofs.”



Gustavus taking leave of his Queen.

As the queen burst into tears, he pressed her to his heart, and said to her, "Be of good courage, we shall see each other again; if it may not be in this life, it will at least be, sooner or later, in the abode of eternal blessedness."

He kissed her a last time, flew to his horse, and rejoined his troops who were just setting out.

Pressing ahead of the corps which Wallenstein had sent to seize upon Naumburg, he entered there, November 1, 1632. The people were transported with joy, and vied with each other for the honor of first touching his garments. They knew not how, worthily, to show their gratitude to their protector. Several cast themselves at his feet. Gustavus raised them immediately, and, turning to one of the officers, said, with a melancholy air, "Might it not be said that this people believe me a God!

Our affairs are now prosperous, but I much fear lest God punish them for their idolatry, and prove to them, only too soon, that I am only a man, weak and mortal, even as they."

The Austrian army arrived too late to take Naumburg, and camped less than a half-league from this city, at Weissenfels. Twice as numerous as the Swedes, they counted upon an easy victory as soon as an occasion should offer. But Gustavus Adolphus, following the same tactics as at Nuremberg, strongly intrenched himself outside of Naumburg, and then awaited the arrival of the re-inforcements that he expected from Lower Saxony.

Wallenstein again shrank from attacking the Swedish camp, convinced that it was impregnable. Pappenheim, not being able to endure inaction, asked and obtained permission to lead eleven thousand

men to the succor of Cologne. The separation between the two generals and their troops took place at Lutzen, not far from Leipsic, where Wallenstein intended to make his winter-quarters, supposing that the enemy would do the same at Naumburg. As soon as Gustavus Adolphus was advised of the departure of Pappenheim, he said, "I believe truly, that God is giving the enemy into my hands," and, without the loss of a moment, he set out in pursuit of Wallenstein, and in one day reached him, before Lutzen. But it was already night and, greatly to his regret, the battle had to be postponed until morning.

At day-break, Gustavus Adolphus summoned his chaplain, and passed one hour with him in prayer. He then attended the regular religious services, held every morning, for the soldiers. It was remarked

that, contrary to ordinary custom, he remained upon his knees during the whole service. He was engaged in the profoundest devotion. He gave orders to sing the celebrated battle hymn which he himself had composed, and which greatly warmed the hearts of his soldiers before the battle.

“Notwithstanding the tumult and the threatening cries which resound around you, fear nothing, little flock. Your enemies rejoice in your destruction, but their joy shall be of short duration. Let not your courage fail you.

“Your cause is the cause of God! accomplish your mission, place yourselves in the hands of God, and you shall fear no danger. He will find another Gideon to defend the people and the Word of God.

“We hope that at the name of Jesus, the violence and snares of the wicked will turn against them. They will thus become

an object to be despised. God is with us, we are with him; victory belongs to us."

It was the 6th of November, 1632. A thick fog covered the plain on which the bloody struggle was to take place. Even the troops nearest the foe were unable to see them. The singing of psalms, now and then broken in upon by Wallenstein's cannon, announcing the near attack, was all that could be heard. Gustavus Adolphus, while awaiting the rising of the sun, placed his army in battle-array, and gave the ancient word of command, "God is with us." He was mounted and without armor. The need of protecting his body from the shot of the enemy was pressed upon him, above all, on such a day as was now expected. He replied, "The Eternal One is my armor." He then passed along his lines in order to encourage his men. At first he addressed himself to the

Swedes. "My dear compatriots and friends," said he, "the day has arrived on which you are to show what you have already learned in war. You have before you the enemy which we have so long sought, and he is no longer sheltered behind formidable intrenchments or high mountains. He is in the plain which lies open before us. It is not willingly, nor because he is sure of victory, that he accepts battle to-day, you well know. It is because it is impossible longer to avoid meeting us and our arms. So, hold yourselves ready; conduct yourselves as worthy soldiers; fight valiantly for your God, your country, and your king."

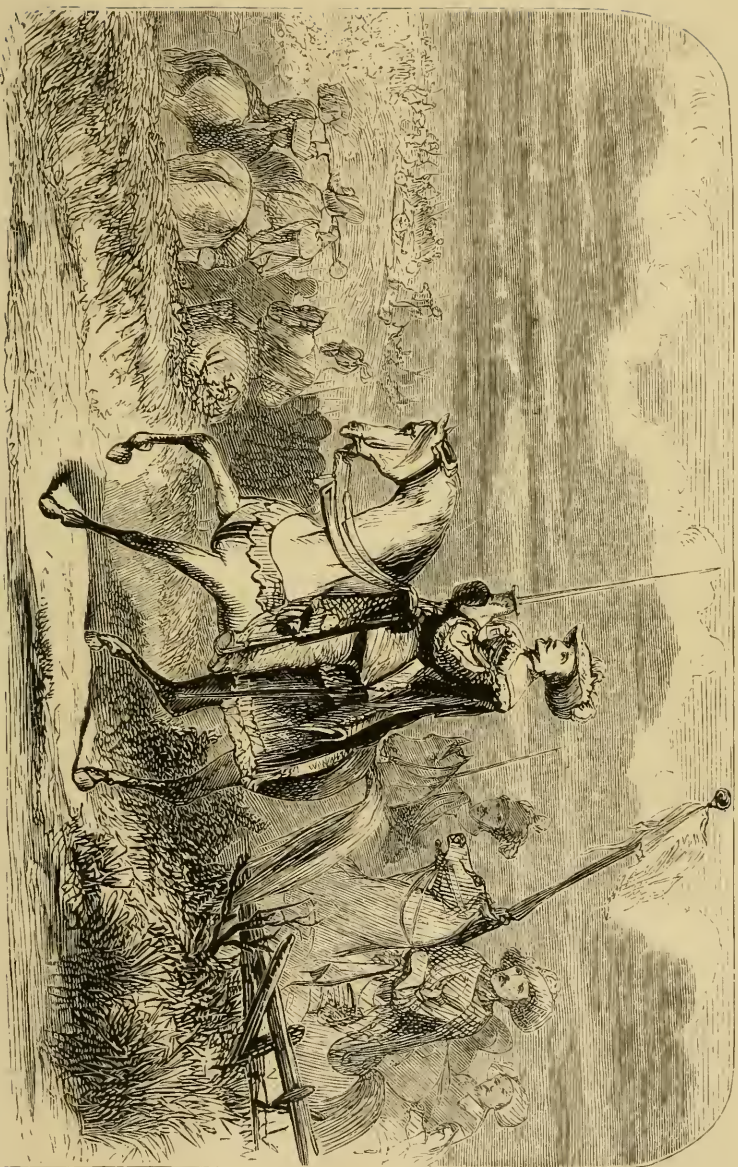
Then he passed to the left wing of the army, formed of the German allies, and said to them, "My brothers and loyal comrades, I beseech you, in the name of a Christian conscience and of your honor, to

do your duty to-day, as you have done heretofore. A year ago, and not far from here, you fought the old Tilly and his hosts. I trust that the enemy that is now before you will share no better fate than he and they. March with courage! you will fight not under my orders, but with me and by my side. I myself will show you the way. I am ready to risk my life and to shed my blood with you. Follow me, have confidence in God, and bear away a victory whose fruits you and your posterity will gather forever. Remember that if you are defeated, your religion and your liberty are at an end."

The soldiers replied with shouts of joy and enthusiasm to the words of their chief. The king, far from sympathizing with their transports, was graver than was his wont, and seemed even sad. He had taken every measure as a man preparing to die. He

had designated the duke, Bernard de Weimar, to take command in his place if he should fall during the battle. The sadness of his face was only an index of the solemn thoughts that agitated him within, and of the last regrets for the lawful affections of earth, before yielding himself up to God without reserve and forever.

Toward eleven o'clock the fog was dissipated; the sun brilliantly illuminated the field of Lutzen. When the two armies came in sight Gustavus Adolphus once more inclined his head and prayed mentally, with an astonishing fervor. Then raising his eyes toward heaven, clasping his hands upon the hilt of his sword, he cried aloud, "Jesus! Jesus! be thou my help this day, while I battle for the glory of thy sacred name." He then brandished his sword above his head and added, "Forward now, in the name of the Lord!"



Gustavus on the Battle-field of Lutzen.

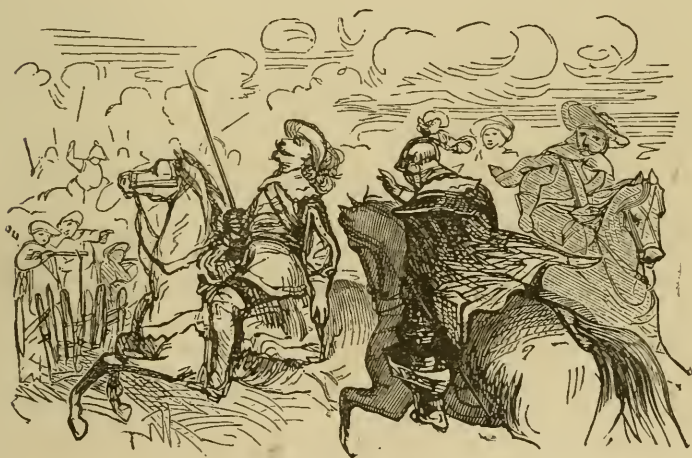
The king was surrounded by Francis Albert, Duke of Lauenburg, by the Marshal of the palace of Breitsheim, by his page, Leubelfingen, by several officers, and by two servants.

The cannonading began on both sides, and the Swedish troops threw themselves upon the enemy. Several bullets fell near the king, but did not prevent him from placing himself at the right wing of his army, by passing along the road from Lutzen to Leipsic, back of which were the Austrians. They had dug trenches from which they hurled a murderous fire against the Swedes, without being in turn exposed to the fire of the other army. Gustavus had commanded his infantry to cross these ditches, and as they did not advance fast enough to suit him, he descended from his horse and went with them to set them an example and give them a renewed ardor.

The soldiers begged him to remount, which he did, and then hastened to the head of the cavalry. The trenches were passed. The left wing of the enemy were dispersed by the Fins, whom the king commanded in person. At this moment he learned that his infantry were giving way and he flew to their relief.

Schiller says, "His proud courser bears him like an arrow over beyond the trenches. But the passage is more difficult for the squadrons that would accompany him, and a few cavalry, among whom are Count Francis Albert, are alone sufficiently well mounted to keep with him. He pushes directly for the point where his infantry seem hardest assailed, and while he essays to find a weak point in the enemy's line to which he may direct his attack, his natural short-sightedness takes him too near the enemy. An imperial officer remarking that

the Swedes make open path for him to let him pass first, shows him, by pointing the finger, to a musketeer and says, 'Put that one out of the way, for he is a great personage among them.' The soldier obeys, and his ball fractures the arm of the king. At this moment the regiment comes up. At the sight of his blood, and on



GUSTAVUS WOUNDED.

hearing repeated cries of 'The king is wounded! The king has received a shot!' the brave men are seized with fright, and

there threatens a general panic. 'It is nothing; follow me!' cries the king, collecting all his forces. But soon overcome with pain, and ready to faint, he tells the Duke of Lauenburg, in French, that no one else might comprehend him, to take him quietly outside of the combat. The duke obeys, and in order to spare the Swedes the sight of their wounded king he takes the longest road, to the right wing of his army. On the way he receives another wound in his back, that takes from him his remaining strength. 'I have enough, my brother,' says he, in a dying voice, 'leave me and save your life.' Scarcely has he uttered these words when he falls from his horse, and, struck by several shots more, abandoned by friends, he draws his last breath in the hands of the Croats.*

* His young page, Leubelfingen, alone remained by the king, and was pierced through by a sword, but he

“In an instant the Swedish army knows that it is without a chief, but this frightful intelligence, far from diminishing its courage, raises it even to madness. Life has no more value to these brave legions, since the most glorious and most useful one among them all has come to his end; death has no more terrors, since it has taken the most precious life of all.”

“Like furious lions the Upland, the Finland regiments, the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths, hurl themselves upon the left wing of the enemy and cut it in pieces.

“At the same time, the Duke Bernard de Weimar, according to the wish of the king, takes the command of the army. . . . He throws himself upon the right wing of the enemy and soon seizes their artillery.

lived a few days after the battle, and it was he that related of the last moments of Gustavus Adolphus. A large stone was rolled to the spot on which he fell, and is known to this day as the Rock of the Swedes. •

Nothing can withstand the impetuosity of the Swedes."

Wallenstein, seeing his troops giving way every-where without being able to bring them back into line, hoped no longer for success, and was preparing to retreat, when Pappenheim arrived with eight regiments to his support. The battle began anew. Pappenheim longing to measure himself with Gustavus Adolphus, and ignorant of his death, swept through the confusion and threw himself upon the right wing of the Swedish army, but being immediately wounded, was forced to withdraw, and with him disappeared all hope of success for the imperials, who profiting by the night fled away, leaving the Swedes masters of the battle-field, and possessors of their artillery and baggage.

Pappenheim died the day after the battle, and Wallenstein abandoned Saxony to

the conquerors, who finally retook all the strong places occupied by the Austrians. He gained one unimportant victory over the Swedes, at Steinau, owing to their small force and inefficient general. Afterward he conspired against the emperor, who caused his assassination in 1634.

The victory of Lutzen was a cause of more grief than joy to the Swedes. Their beloved king was dead. Nothing could compensate for this irreparable loss. The army wept for him as for a father, and all the Protestants of Europe felt that their most cherished hopes were buried with him in his grave.

Gustavus Adolphus was scarcely forty years of age. What would he have done had he lived? . . . Did he aspire, as some have pretended, to the imperial crown? and did death alone prevent him from tarnishing his glory by overturning his ambi-

tious projects? We cannot say. But his life was wholly exempt from all such evidence, and to his latest breath he remained faithful to his sacred mission. He battled for the Gospel and for liberty.

God has caused the seed which his servant watered with his blood to germinate and ripen. Truth is immortal, and its enemies even, in the hands of Providence, are often the instruments employed in promoting its eternal and inevitable triumph. Who would have thought, when this hero of the North fell, this most formidable and marked defender of the Reformation, that, instead of its being the exploits of his valiant successors, it should be the work of two cardinals that should give to Germany that religious independence which she had sought for thirty years, and that should determine the future of European Protestantism! When

Gustavus Adolphus was besought to save his life, he replied, "God, the all-powerful, *lives.*" The unexpected closing of this long and cruel war, the way in which was accomplished the work of the great King of Sweden, has well justified this wise reply, which many other events of history have confirmed, and in which it has been plainly seen that human combinations, calculations, and foresight avail but little, while they have shown forth more strikingly the irresistible and consoling power of the Master of the Universe.

Few men have left to posterity a memory more admirable than that of Gustavus Adolphus. Even his enemies can but render him justice. "He is the greatest king in the world," said the Pope. Around his name cluster the most solid, as well as the most brilliant qualities. We have seen his profound faith, his inflexible justice,

his unchangeable goodness, his courage—sometimes a little rash—and his touching tenderness for his family: all the virtues of the man and the hero, united to a military genius which has been equaled but never surpassed.

He completely transformed the art of war. According to Michelet he made war upon this, then new, principle, “That that which is mightiest in war is not the swiftness of the Turk, the tempest of cavalry, nor heavy coats of mail, nor even the walls and strong fortifications of Holland—but human walls; firm infantry on the plain, and the breasts of men.” And, far from forming the solid square as the Spaniards, or placing rank against rank, which, when once broken, become ever more and more mixed and confused, he arranged his men in simple file with a space behind them, saying, “If the cavalry break your line, let

them pass, and re-form in double-quick." This wonderful confidence in moral force had its effect. The beautiful Swedish tactics attracted the brave so powerfully that many left lucrative employments to take part in this hazardous style of war, who had no taste for ramparts and fortifications. And there was still one thing more admirable—the discipline which Gustavus Adolphus introduced into his army; it was his military code, a *chef-d'œuvre* of the kind, in which the severity of the law had the love of justice and the fear of God for its base. He said, "One may be a bold fighter, but not a good soldier, without being a Christian."

Gustavus Adolphus was not only a great general and a remarkable Christian, but he was also an administrator of the first order, and proved that he was not less capable of directing a State than of command-

ing an army. Under his reign Sweden underwent several important and salutary reforms. While he carried on war he took care of his kingdom, ameliorating the condition of his people wherever that it was possible. He made a criminal code; he established new tribunals and watched carefully over the jurisprudence of his country. He rendered commerce prosperous by favoring the establishment of many industrial associations, and by drawing into his country skillful workmen from foreign countries. By wise ordinances he also facilitated the sale of merchandise, and it is to him that Sweden owes her first manufactories of arms and of paper, her tanneries, and the vocations of weaving wool and silk. He regulated the government of the provinces, and required an exact account of the expenses and revenues of the kingdom. He particularly encour-

aged instruction in all the different classes of society. He assured to all professors a good salary, and demanded of them guaranties of capability and morality. He purged the universities of those of whom he said, "They knew neither how to respect themselves nor to fulfill their mission."

He gave aid to poor but intelligent and industrious students. He founded the University of Dorpat, and handsomely donated to that of Upsal from his family estate.

He spread intellectual light among the people by organizing superior primary schools. Finally he was on the eve of proposing to give to Sweden a constitution which should bring about a much more liberal government, when he was snatched away from life and from the affections of his people.

"He was of sanguine temperament," says

Michelet, "and he sometimes had moments of anger, which were short and generally finished by a laugh. He was too rash in exposing himself in battle as a soldier. These faults excepted—the only ones with which he is reproached—one could have believed him superior to our common human nature." His death, however, as he foresaw, put him on a level with other men, and furnished a memorable example of earthly glory.

The Fins found and took the corpse of their king. He was under a heap of slain, and so trampled by the feet of horsemen that it was difficult to recognize him. He was at first carried to the village of Meuchen, where it was necessary to bury the intestines. After that the body was placed in a coffin made by the teacher of the village school, who was also a joiner. A funeral service was held, at which pre-

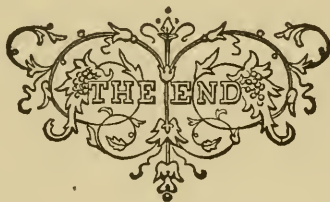
sided this same school-master. A Swedish officer also pronounced a short discourse. The next day the mortal remains of the hero were taken to Weissenfels, where an apothecary was charged with the embalming; he reported nine wounds upon the body.

The following summer the army moved from Saxony toward the Baltic. Everywhere the *cortege* passed the liveliest grief was evinced. Protestant Germany would not now be consoled for the loss of her liberator. From Wolgast in Pomerania the army set out for Sweden, accompanied by the Queen Maria Eleonore, whose grief was inconsolable, and by a deputation from the Senate. "The sea-passage was prosperous," says a biographer of Gustavus Adolphus, "and the fleet arrived, August 8, at Nykoeping. As it approached the Swedish coast the sky became covered

with clouds, which soon poured out an abundant rain. It seemed that Sweden would receive the remains of the greatest and dearest of her sons only as clothed in mourning and in tears."

Out of regard for the queen, who did not wish to be separated from the remains of her husband, and who desired to keep them until she could repose with him in the same tomb, the solemn funeral rites were delayed until June 21, 1634. They were then celebrated with all possible pomp, and in the midst of universal grief. The coffin was placed in the church of Ridarholm, which Gustavus Adolphus had himself chosen as a place of burial. A splendid mausoleum had been erected to him, which remains to this day. Upon seven faces of the monument are engraven brief sentences expressing the exploits or soul-qualities of Gustavus Adolphus. Be-

neath the cross which surmounts it a pelican is represented as nourishing her young with her own blood. A striking emblem, well expressing the most salient trait of the Swedish hero's character, and furnishing, as it were, a *résumé* of his whole life, which was one act of long and bloody devotion to the interests of others.



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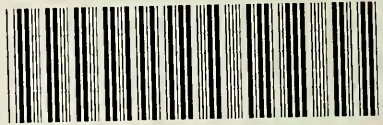
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